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ABSTRACT

This monograph examines race relations in higher education. Specifically, the focus is on black faculty in racially mixed colleges and universities, and how they get along with fellow faculty and students. The findings are based on a national survey of black professors and a comparison group of whites, and are presented in 6 chapters under 3 headings. The first 3 chapters present a multivariate approach to race relations. The next 2 chapters deal with anthropological perspectives of social relations, and the final chapter examines the psychological dimensions of the problem. The monograph presents findings, primarily in tabular form, with a minimum of interpretation. The raw data is made available so that it can be used as a resource for scholars to interpret in light of their own experiences, understandings, and needs. (Author/HS)

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ABSTRACT

RACE RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A MONOGRAPH

by

DAVID M. RAFKY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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This monograph examines race relations in higher education. Specifically, the focus is on black faculty in racially mixed colleges and universities and how they "get along" with fellow faculty and students. The findings are based on a national survey of black professors and a comparison group of whites and are presented in six chapters organized along three headings. The first three chapters present a "Multivariate" approach to race relations. Chapters IV and V deal with "Anthropological" perspectives of social relations, and the final chapter concerns the "Psychological" dimensions of the problem. Each chapter is complete and may be read without consulting the others. Thus a scholar interested in one aspect or approach to race relations in higher education need not purchase the whole monograph.

The monograph is mainly descriptive; it presents findings, primarily in tabular form, with a minimum of interpretation. The author has intentionally refrained from proposing what some readers may believe to be obvious explanations and interpretations of the data. As a white, the author's explanation of the findings may be biased by his unconscious assumptions about race since some black scholars point out that whites cannot separate themselves from the general climate of racism that exists in the United States at this time. The raw data is made available so that it can be used as a resource for scholars to interpret in the light of their own experiences, understandings, and needs.

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INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1900, the presence of blacks on the faculties of predominantly white colleges was rare. During the next 50 years, the movement of blacks to positions in white schools was slow and uneven. Three events during 1968-69, however, spurred many "traditionally" closed, predominantly white colleges and universities outside the South to recruit black faculty: (1) the tragic death of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.; (2) student disorders during the first six months of 1969--one-half of which concerned such issues as black studies, black representation in university governance, and the recruitment of black students and faculty; and, (3) numerous civil rights compliance reviews by the Office of Education of colleges and universities.

This monograph examines race relations in higher education. Specifically, the focus is on black faculty in racially mixed colleges and universities and how they "get along" with fellow faculty and students. The findings are based on a national survey of black professors and a comparison group of whites and are presented in six chapters organized along three headings. The first three chapters present a "Multivariate" approach to race relations. Chapters IV and V deal with "Anthropological" perspectives of social relations, and the final chapter concerns the "Psychological" dimensions of the problem. Each chapter is complete and may be read without consulting the others. Thus a scholar interested in one aspect or approach to race relations in higher education need not purchase the whole monograph.

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CHAPTER I

A Multivariate Approach to Race Relations: Part I--Black and White Professors In Integrated Colleges[1]

By David M. Rafky

1.1 Introduction

The assassination of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., spurred many "traditionally closed," predominantly white colleges and universities to recruit black faculty. The perceptions and experiences of these black scholars are of special interest to scholars of race relations, educational policy, and the sociology of higher education. An analysis of the interpersonal problems facing black professors in white institutions may help smooth the path of other blacks to these schools and shed light on the dynamics of race relations. This paper consists of three parts: part I examines the association between a series of variables and the interpersonal relations between black professors in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities and their white colleagues; part II deals with black professors and students; part III focuses on black professors and members of the working class. The statistical sections of each part are supplemented by statements of the black and white faculty members who participated in this study.

2.1 Samples and Sampling Procedure

In 1969, a largely pre-coded questionnaire was mailed to 699 white and 699 black faculty members in predominantly white colleges and universities outside the South. Seventy-nine percent (554) of the blacks responded compared to 63 percent (442) of the whites.

Rosters of black professors were solicited from the Provosts, Presidents, Deans, and selected department chairmen of all four-year, degree granting, predominantly white, non-southern institutions with more than 300 students.[2] In addition, prominent black scholars and organizations (such as the Metropolitan Applied Research Center headed by Dr. Kenneth Clark) supplied the names of blacks at schools which declined to cooperate in the survey. The sample of 699 blacks may include as much as 75 to 90 percent of the target population. In 1968, A. Gilbert Belles conducted a survey of blacks teaching in predominantly white four-year institutions for the Southern Education Reporting Service. The sampled schools "claimed" to employ 785 black professors, but did not supply their names or other corroborating evidence. One administrator "listed 208 'professional employees' but did not indicate how many of them were teaching faculty" (Belles, 1968, p. 25). Belles cautions that the total of 785 may therefore be inflated.

A comparison group of 699 whites was selected from 300 available college and university bulletins. The two groups were matched on academic field, size, location, and control--public or private--of employing institution. Since a substantial proportion of black faculty are women, an unsystematic attempt was made to match the two groups on sex. This was not successful; 28 percent of the black respondents are women compared to 18 percent of the whites.

2.2 The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is perception of awkward interpersonal relations, PAIR. Survey researchers have rarely measured this variable; instead, they employ it as a hypothetical construct with which to explain their observations. Lenski (1956), for instance, explains his finding that residents of Detroit who are low on status crystallization avoid certain voluntary associations by assuming that they experience social slights, rebuffs, and awkwardness in their face-to-face encounters. He does not test this explanation empirically. Hughes (1958) also describes the contacts between those who occupy ambiguous status configurations (such as black professionals) and others as strained or awkward; he does not, however, investigate the perceived awkwardness. In addition, while some researchers

discuss awkwardness, they do not examine its interpersonal context. For example, Hughes (1958) does not indicate with whom the black professional feels awkward: other black professional, white professionals, working class whites, working class blacks, etc. In this study, PAIR in the presence of specific others is measured in a survey questionnaire format. Although the reliability and validity of single item scales are often low, faculty members described particular "incidents" to explain or qualify their responses. Since emphasis is on perception of awkwardness, the analyses do not include the responses of professors who "can't say" because they rarely encounter members of the group specified in an item. The PAIR question reads:

> Sometimes in our face to face encounters we feel that the relationship is strained or awkward; we or the other person feels ill-at-ease. Encounters between myself and (white colleagues, black colleagues, black students, white students, working class whites, working class blacks) are strained or awkward. Response categories: disagree strongly, disagree alightly, agree slightly, agree strongly, can't say because I rarely encounter them.

2.3 Statistical Procedures and Issues

Survey research cannot demonstrate that racial differences "cause" PAIR. Causality can only be demonstrated in the "ideal" experiment where a control group "has been exposed to all the same stimuli as the experimental group, except

the single one in which the experimenter is vitally interested" (Hyman, 1955, p. 244). The survey researcher must "take his groups as he finds them." He may, however, approximate the "logic" or experimentation by the method of sub-group comparisons:

> This involves a comparison of the frequency with which groups <u>characterized in different ways</u> express a certain attitude or exhibit a particular characteristic. . . . In such comparisons, the analyst assumes the sub-groups which he has formulated approximate the experimental and control groups of an actual experiment, and that the characteristic which distinguishes the different groups approximates the experimental stimulus. . . . [Since the analyst] has no opportunity to control the composition of his "experimental" and "control" groups in advance, so as to be certain that they are initially identical . . . there is always the danger that the relationships which the analyst finds in his survey data are spurious, that they arise out of initial differences between the groups being compared. . . . We [therefore] try to eradicate initial differences between the sub-groups which might produce spurious relationships. The analytical procedures for achieving this involve some manner of "holding constant" or "controlling" [these] possible invalidating factors (Hyman, 1955, pp. 245-47).

The observation that black professors are less likely than the comparison group of whites to feel awkward does not demonstrate that racial differences, <u>per se</u>, account for differences in PAIR. There are additional factors that differentiate the two groups, as Table 1[3] indicates. For example, the proportion of southerners is higher in the black sample than in the white sample; this could account for racial differences in

PAIR. That is, southerners in general (i.e., whites and blacks) may be low on PAIR, and, since black professors tend to be from the South, the observed relationship between race and PAIR could be an artifact of the relationship between region of origin and PAIR. To reduce the probability that relationships between race and PAIR are spurious, initial differences between the white and black respondents (Table 1) are held constant. Several factors are controlled singly, and others are controlled simultaneously in a multivariate procedure. The multivariate tables display the effects[4] of each independent or control variable on the dependent variable while the effects of the others are held constant. The multivariate tables also indicate the conditions for which observed relationships are weaker or stronger (specification) and the circumstances under which anticipated, but unobserved, relationships appear (masking processes). Finally, the presentation of the data in tables allows the examination of the relationships between the control or independent variables and PAIR for white and for black professors separately. The following independent or control variables are considered: background SES (socio-economic status);[5] age; sex; region in which the respondent spent the majority of the first 18 years of his life; racial mix

of college attended; tenure; quality,[6] control, size, and location of employing institution; highest earned degree; field; and academic rank. In addition, comments made by the respondents are discussed and subjected to a content analysis.

Part I continues by focusing on 554 black and 442 white professors' perception of awkward interpersonal relations (PAIR) in their encounters with colleagues. Section 3 describes PAIR with black professors and section 4 considers PAIR with white professors.

- -
- -Table 1 about here - - - - - - - - - -

3.1 PAIR with Black Professors

Thirty percent of the white professors and 17 percent of the black professors (Table 2) rarely encounter black faculty members, and so are excluded from the analysis which follows. Some of the blacks that were excluded do have black colleagues but divergent interests limit their interaction:

> There are only three Negroes on the faculty here--different fields, age levels, and interests. We seldom see one another.

Other blacks report that they are the only black professionals on their campus. One black responds: "Oddly enough, I work and live in a city where there are few Negroes!" For many

white professors, it is "unfortunate" that "contacts with other black professors are not too frequent." One is in agreement with the black quoted above when he explains that the reason his campus and community are almost "completely white" is not due to "exclusiveness," but "just that there are very few Negroes in this part of the world." Another white professor points out that he will bring a black educator to his school:

> I have only rare opportunities to associate with black colleagues since we are a "white" campus. But I am bringing a "friend"--a well known black scholar specializing in black education to the campus as a visitor. I shall host him.

The gamma[7] and means in Table 2 indicate a moderate relationship between race and PAIR with black professors; white faculty are more likely than black faculty to feel awkward with black colleagues. The relationship persists for all regions, campus sizes, and types of schools. The relationship is particularly strong for professors in the social and natural sciences. Among those in education, the relationship is reversed; blacks are more likely than whites to report awkwardness with black professors. This is also true for those holding lower ranks (assistant professor and below) and for administrators.

In Tables 3, 4, and 5, the percentage of respondents who agree strongly or slightly with the statement measuring

PAIR are classified by several variables simultaneously. Table 3 classifies black and white professors by region of origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. The relationship between race and PAIR with black professors is maintained for each level of the control variables. It is particularly strong for respondents who come from the South. Among whites, women who attended white colleges are especially likely to be high PAIR with black professors. Among blacks, the same pattern is evident; it is particularly striking for blacks raised in the South. Region of origin has a greater effect on the dependent variable for the whites than for the blacks. Whites raised in the South are more than twice as likely as whites raised outside the South to be high PAIR; for blacks, southerners and non-southerners do not generally differ on PAIR.

The right side of Table 4 classifies black and white professors by age and SES simultaneously. The left side presents only the marginals for each region, since the cell N's are too low for reliable percentaging. In general, the relationship between PAIR with black professors and race is maintained for the three control variables. There are, however, some qualifications. The relationship is reversed for lower SES respondents from the South, upper SES professors from outside the South, and professors over 50 years old from

outside the South. Among respondents in these categories, blacks are more likely than whites to feel awkward with black professors. Among the whites, PAIR with black professors is related to SES; upper SES whites are twice as likely as low and moderate SES whites to report high PAIR. High PAIR is particularly likely when whites are high SES and under 30 or between 40 and 50 years of age. Among blacks, both low and high SES respondents tend to be high PAIR; this is particularly true of older (over 40), low SES blacks and younger (under 40), high SES blacks.

Table 5 classifies the white and black professors by highest degree, tenure, and quality of employing school. In general, the relationship between race and PAIR is maintained. It reverses, however, for one sub-group of tenured professors. Among faculty members without the doctorate who are tenured employees of lower quality schools, blacks are more likely than whites to feel awkward with their black colleagues. For the whites, holders of the doctorate tend to be high PAIR, regardless of tenure. Whites with the doctorate who hold tenured appointments in high quality schools are most likely to feel awkward with black professors. Blacks who hold untenured appointments in high quality schools do not feel awkward with other black professors. Black tenured

teachers in lower quality schools who have not earned the doctorate are particularly high on PAIR with other black professors.

Tables 2-5 about here

3.2 PAIR With Black Professors: Described by Black Professors

The majority of the black faculty members do not perceive interpersonal relations with their black colleagues as awkward. Blacks report that other black professors and the families of black colleagues are "very friendly"; "I am at ease with the one I know," and "I work very closely with my supervisor who is a Negro." Initial encounters may be slightly awkward, as indicated by excessive formality; however, "warm friendships" develop with further meetings:

> Relationships are relatively free of awkwardness because there is a shared sense of etiquette. On my first introduction to black colleagues, my encounter was rather formal--becoming less so with frequency of meetings and situations of encounter.

For many blacks, colleagual friendship is primarily due to racial identification. One professor candidly exclaimed: "We are friends because I am a Negro!" They often mention "mutual understanding," and "common interests, goals and ambitions in an atmosphere made of Negroes"; "black faculty have been getting together informally to discuss

common problems and to socialize occasionally--for example--soul X-mas party."

Identification with black colleagues on the basis of race has dangers as well as benefits. Below, one black faculty member identifies with other blacks but prefers to deal with whites because "if they hurt me, it hurts less":

> I have been in this country for seven years and occasions of strain have shifted quite a bit. Also, as a good anthropologist I tend to play down my own feelings of strain and to put the other fellow at his ease. I am constantly aware that I am a foreigner and culturally an outsider both to American Blacks and Whites. . . . When I came here I had an inner spontaneity toward Blacks. This has led to all sorts of hurts so that I find myself readier to take social risks with Whites for if they hurt me it hurts less. So that for me culturism (in addition to racism) is socially most troublesome.

More often than not, however, blacks who report that they are at ease in the presence of black colleagues do not interpret their own behavior in terms of racial identification. Rather, they enjoy good relations with members of <u>all</u> races, although they sometimes express a preference for blacks. They attribute this to their early integrated environment and to mutual respect for other people <u>qua</u> individuals:

> I was brought up in a very integrated atmosphere; I was aware of the racial differences (skin color, etc.) but I did not feel any prejudice. I feel that this accounts for the ease with which I meet people of <u>all</u> races. I am interested only

> in the person, not his economic position or the color of his skin or the size of his nose.
>
> Although I am a black person, my general background experiences from childhood till now were such as to allow me to learn to relate rather easily to both black and white at the level of relationships described. Closer more intimate relationships are something else. I have had many close relationships with both white and black; however the close relationships preferred by far is with blacks. But my difficulty often is that it is more difficult to meet blacks with whom I am or can find the kind of intellectual compatibility so important to me. Intellectual compatibility has been the major reason for most of my non-professional association with whites.

"Militancy" or its absence is the major source of conflict among black professors. Some blacks report that they do not enjoy good relations with black faculty members who are "too" militant or who otherwise exploit the racial situation:

> One encounter was extremely awkward. A Negro visiting lecturer, who was extremely militant, obscene, and obnoxious, was utterly antagonistic and crude to the point of being a discredit to the race and to his profession. This person has an Ed.D. degree.
>
> On my campus, my black colleagues (and I'm black) are using the "threat of blackness" to establish their reputations and to obtain the rewards of the university.

One respondent summarized his feelings by saying: "Power struggle!"

At the other extreme, some black academics experience strained relations with black colleagues who are "uncle Tomish" or not militant enough:

> Sometimes I come in contact with Negro colleagues who are interested in behaving in a manner defined by whites as being pleasing and acceptable to them (whites). These Negroes can quickly sense that I am interested in being accepted by all people, with my strengths and weaknesses, as a human being. This leads to a strain in our relationship. For example, one Negro colleague accused me of over-reacting to racism, something I am just discovering and which he recognized all of his life. This has some truth in it but it also justified his own behavior in his mind.

Somewhere between the "militants" and the "uncle Toms" are the Negro "moderates." The black moderates do not have good relations with black colleagues at either extreme:

> Recently activity among black students requesting Black Studies Programs and the like has brought into existence, generally, the attitude that a person must be totally for or totally opposed to any self assertion of the black members of the American community. Such a polarization is, of course unnatural, unthinking, and indeed impossible for a human being. Consequently, when talking to either colleagues or students, black or white, I have to make my position clear--that I believe it possible to be both for <u>and</u> against an issue or movement and that such a position need not be hypocritical, irresolute, non committal or "Uncle Tomish." Unfortunately, too many of my associates either do not listen to or do not accept my stand. Strained and awkward encounters result.

3.3 PAIR With Black Professors:
Described by White Professors

Most of the white professors report friendly and relaxed associations with black colleagues, but their rationalizations for this differ. Some appear to ignore race as a social category, and when they do feel awkward with others, whether black or white, it is usually due to a "clash of personalities":

> I don't feel "strained" on the basis of these [racial] classifications. I sense whether a person is passive to me and if I'm trying to influence or even communicate with him I feel strained. The same is true if he happens to be antagonistic to me or to my opinions. With only few exceptions, my relationships with Negroes have not been with those who are antagonistic to me as a white person.
>
> I feel awkward toward colleagues to whom I am hostile. In a recent faculty meeting, for example, I was embarrassed "to be nice to" a colleague I had been continually downing behind his back.
>
> Aside from contact with individuals with whom I feel a personality conflict, I can't say my relationships with anyone--based on ethnic, racial or social class distinctions--are awkward or strained.

Race is, however, salient for other whites who do not feel awkward vis-a-vis black professors:

> Four years spent in teaching in a "predominantly" Negro college (100 percent Negro!) were four years of wonderful contacts.

> I attended a social evening at the home of a Negro colleague with wives, and drinks and a prospective Negro candidate. I found it easy, intimate, and frank with regard to racial problems, solutions, and attitudes.
>
> At Georgia Tech. about ten years ago, a local Negro teacher was invited to attend a professional meeting but was refused entrance to the lunchroom beforehand. With two or three other "liberals" I spent a pleasant hour with our guest before the meeting began.

A majority of the whites who do not feel awkward in the presence of black professors report that their encounters are "professional" contacts, and only rarely extend beyond the university. Perhaps this accounts for the lack of awkwardness:

> My sole Negro colleague is the only member of my department with whom I feel in accord both professionally and intellectually--perhaps owing to a similarity of educational background. I have not socialized with him outside of campus activities.
>
> There might be more awkwardness (though I doubt it) if associations were not always professional. In a sense, I am protected by professionalism; I suppose I join with black faculty and students in order to do a job--and the task orientation of the group eases things.
>
> They are colleagues with a job to do. Strain would have to be created--why should it? As often as possible one of my Negro colleagues and myself have lunch together. I think we are good friends who respect each other. At lunch we exchange experiences and laugh a great deal. No awkwardness on either side.

A few whites report that at one time they were "uptight" in the presence of blacks, but they have "overcome" these feelings:

> I have felt no awkwardness with Negroes since my adolescence in the South. I have had many black friends and have one close one now. We have blacks in our home, but I would not describe us as civil rights militants. The last discomfort I suffered when I was 16 (I am now 33) when at a religious conference in Illinois a new Negro acquaintance suddenly joined me for lunch. I had a visceral emotional reaction which I soon overcame. Inter-racial marriage now has no effect on me--neither does the thought of my personally making love with a black person--I have in fact. I am disturbed as a white liberal by black separatism, and have had many discussions with black militants about same.

> I learned long ago to accept with humor and to acknowledge the barriers between white and black. I'm not real good at it, but no longer feel tense about the relationships.

Finally, one white professor indicates that he does not feel awkward with black colleagues, since, in fact, the question cannot be meaningfully interpreted by him:

> Since I have sometimes had to remain at school very late working--to an hour when the MBTA [Boston rapid transit] has closed down--I have on occasion slept in the extra bed in a Negro colleague's apartment. We don't have "incidents" [referring to the wording of the question asking for a detailed description of racial interactions] --I'm not even sure I know what you mean; i.e., should there be some particular strain? There isn't. We talk about politics, etc., and have a couple of drinks. Sorry I can't be more helpful with this answer.

A substantial number of white professors are ambivalent toward their black colleagues, and many feel less awkward with blacks than with whites:

> I generally find my personal relations with black faculty are more liable to be strained than the corresponding relations with whites, because you can't get away from this race consciousness in western civilization, and relations are accordingly more sensitive. On the other hand, black Americans tend in my experience to be warmer and less contrived in their relationships with other people than white Americans and I have found myself sometimes more at ease in groups in which a majority are black than in white or mainly white groups.

After my divorce, I rented my home for a year to a Negro professor who replaced one of our regular faculty who was on sabbatical. Relations with him and his family have always been cordial--perhaps they were more uneasy than I. Personally, I feel that the more one is brutalized in this world (up to a point), the better one is able to mingle with persons "usually" considered as being socially different. It seems to be the case with me.

I recently drove my daughter (a senior at Oberlin College) to Mitchelville, Arkansas, where she participated for a month in an OEO project under the sponsorship of Mrs. B. Mrs. B fed me a catfish dinner and discussed the project. Afterwards I met several blacks in this project, at their small community hall, and had a delightful hour or so talking with them. I experienced absolutely no awkwardness with them. I find it possible to enter into really responsive discussions with blacks about the white problem--the problem of getting whites to enter cooperatively with awareness the realities of the racial crisis. Conversely, I find it rather frustrating to discuss the same questions with whites because of their ignorance of the basic facts and because of the tender chips they carry about so defensively on their shoulders.

> I am uncomfortable around Negroes or Jews only when they try to make me aware of their separateness as human beings. When people expect to be treated as "categories" (whether "student," "professor," or "realtor") I withdraw from them. I hate to be called a Professor or Doctor for this reason. To desire external badges is to be damned and doomed. Humaneness is not defined by what a man is, or does--but what he is. I'm more inclined to trust Negroes than to trust Jews or Caucasians because they have a sense of tragedy of life and knowledge of the real world.

White professors who feel awkward typically report that their black colleagues are "quick to take offense," "have a chip on their shoulders," or are "standoffish." Sometimes whites believe this is related to a specific issue, such as black students:

> I have found in using psychometric tests with culturally disadvantaged students that my findings meet great resistance from black colleagues. They feel the test findings are not valid even though they have been standardized using both black and white students. There is a great deal of black versus white anger on a latent level at staff conferences.

> One black colleague, a fine poet, and I are still very polite. He has had no way of assessing my attitudes toward his race, and until I can explain my attitudes, this polite distance will be maintained, I suppose.

> My black colleagues do not wish to be friends because they fear loss of rapport with black students.

White faculty members particularly fear racial polarization with black colleagues:

> I attended by invitation a meeting of radical faculty and students, about 10 percent being

black, 20 percent of lighter color, and the rest "white." When asked, I gave my opinion of a particular college policy which was at issue. My opinion deviated from what the group at large expected and thereafter for some months relations with all colleagues and most "radical" students were strained. This sense of strain or awkwardness which resulted to me is symptomatic of the most dangerous aspect of relations between "races"--that is, polarization of thought and social intercourse, and by reference to some single event, assignment of the entire individual to one "camp" or another, an attitude of "either you're with us, or agin' us."

I would like to discuss racial matters with my black colleagues, but I feel awkward about being honest because I feel Negroes are too emotional about ideas contrary to their goals of racial progress and recognition.

> The degree of "strain" depends upon assessment of my colleague's competence. Also the degree to which we hold similar opinions. We can have comfortable differences of opinion if we have mutual respect for one another.

Whites respond to their fears by "hesitating to mention Negro problems with Negroes present" or otherwise, "trying not to offend blacks" by keeping silent on crucial issues:

> My awkwardness around a Negro colleague, when I had one for one year, stemmed from differences of background (Chicago, Illinois and Austin, Texas) as much as race, though I felt some self-consciousness about saying the right thing or the way I phrased my thoughts until we became better acquainted.
>
> I consult one day a week at a nearby state hospital where I have become acquainted with a very highly regarded Negro colleague at about my age. He is as bright or brighter than I, but he is not as highly trained. We have had just two or three conversations, none of them extended, and none of them concerning personal affairs or social issues. In these I find

> myself guarding against saying something that might be offensive to him, particularly by way of being overly solicitous. He, in turn, seems to be strained too and is careful in his statements. All in all it makes it something like work when it should not be.

Finally, a minority of the whites feel that their black colleagues exploit their situation in ways that white professors are not permitted:

> The one Negro professor here seems to be more than usually deviant in dress and mannerisms. This colleague does things that were they done by other faculty members would be grounds for reprimand. I feel that this person is taking advantage of a permissive situation to do things that would not be tolerated of other people.
>
> He [black colleague] has tended to "freak out" in the "hippy" sense and I disagree with this, although I have not spoken to him about it.

4.1 PAIR With White Professors

Only 5 percent of the white professors and 8 percent of the black professors (Table 6) report that they rarely encounter white colleagues; they are excluded from the following analysis. These respondents tend either to be full-time researchers or to be engaged in field activities off the campus. One black professor of architecture, for example, is president of his own firm, and his building and designing activities do not permit him to spend as much time as he would like at school. A black physician in New England

devotes most of his time to the State Department of Health and spends only one day a week on campus supervising doctoral candidates in public health.

The gamma and means in Table 6 measure a moderate relationship between race and PAIR with white professors; black faculty are more likely than white faculty to feel awkward with white colleagues. The relationship persists for all regions, campus sizes, and types of schools. The relationship is particularly strong for respondents in education and for administrators; it is negligible for teachers of the social sciences and for assistant professors and those in lower ranks.

In Tables 7, 8 and 9, the percentage of respondents who agree strongly or slightly with the statement measuring PAIR are classified by several variables simultaneously. Table 7 classifies black and white professors by region of origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. The relationship between race and PAIR with white colleagues is maintained for all levels of the control variables. For whites, sex is a better predictor of the dependent variable than is region. White women (regardless of region of origin) are almost twice as likely as white men to report high PAIR with white professors. For blacks, however, the relationship

between sex and PAIR is contingent upon the racial mix of college attended. Among blacks who attended white colleges, women are more likely than men to feel awkward with white professors. Among blacks who attended black colleges, women are less likely than men to feel awkward in the presence of white professors. For blacks, the effects of region on the dependent variable are not consistent. Generally, of the blacks, men and women, who attended black colleges, those who were raised outside the South are more likely than those who were raised in the South to be high PAIR.

The right side of Table 8 classifies the respondents by race, age, and SES simultaneously. The left side presents only the column and row totals for each region, since the cell N's are too low for reliable percentaging. The relationship between race and PAIR is maintained for most levels of the control variables. Among southern-born, high SES respondents between the ages of 30 and 40, however, the relationship is reversed; in this sub-group, black professors are slightly less likely than white professors to feel awkward with white colleagues.

A comparison of the percentage differences between columns and rows will show that for the whites SES is a

better predictor of high PAIR than is age. For the SES categories, the marginals range from 4 percent to 17 percent (a difference of 13 percent) while the difference attributable to age is 10 percent (18 percent to 8 percent). Whites who are young and high or moderate SES are especially likely to be high PAIR.

For the black professors, the effects of SES are greater than those of age. For the SES categories, the marginals range from 29 percent to 14 percent (a difference of 15 percent) while the difference attributable to age is 12 percent (26 percent to 14 percent). High SES blacks are more likely to be high PAIR than low or moderate SES blacks; this trend is strong for blacks from the South and weaker among blacks raised outside the South. Among blacks raised in the South, those between the ages of 40 and 50 are highest on PAIR; among non-southerners, the youngest (under 30) are most likely to be high PAIR.

Table 9 classifies the professors by race, highest degree, tenure, and quality of employing school. The relationship between race and PAIR is maintained for faculty members without the doctorate, regardless of tenure and quality of employing school. Among holders of the doctorate, the relationship between race and the dependent variable is contingent on the quality of the employing school and tenure.

Among respondents who are untenured and hold the doctorate, blacks are less likely than whites to feel awkward with white colleagues, regardless of the quality of their school. Among tenured respondents who hold the doctorate and are employed in high quality schools, blacks are also less likely than whites to be high PAIR with white professors.

Among the whites, those with tenure are more likely than those without tenure to be high PAIR with white professors. Among the blacks, professors who have not earned the doctorate are highest on PAIR. Blacks with and without tenure who hold the doctorate and are employed in high quality schools are least likely to feel awkward with white professors.

Tables 6-9 about here

4.1 PAIR With White Professors: Described by Black Professors

More than three-fourths of the black academicians feel at ease with white colleagues. In general, they "get along well," usually "don't feel uncomfortable, although maybe they do on occasion," and are "well respected, well treated, and included in all social events, en masse and selectively." Other blacks said:

> The experience of harmonious working relationships with whites and blacks in this institution of

> 7000 white students and 400 faculty (nine blacks) is a matter of established record in over seven years of college.
>
> I have found white colleagues to be friends--rain or shine. They're not bending over backwards but they give me a fair chance and that's enough for me.
>
> I can't give any specific examples of being <u>at ease</u> with white colleagues because I always have been, even on occasions when race relations were being discussed.

Most of the blacks who enjoy amicable relations with white professors attribute this to two factors--a mutual regard for people as individuals rather than as occupational or racial types and, face to face confrontation of people and issues:

> When differences regarding race occur I try to deal with them by engaging in discussion of the problem. I think I can make an imprint.
>
> I express and respond to feelings in an encounter. Acceptance of the person is first--and if I don't dig what he does, he is told very openly by me--how much freer my relationships are since I feel minimal need to "front" in order to somehow protect my image!
>
> I love my profession with a passion. The people involved in the association are human beings judged by merit not pigment. My desire is to educate them or to administer. My frustrations come when I fail to help them.

The most frequently cited source of tension in relations between black and white professors are the insincerity and dishonesty that many white "so called liberals" are believed to display. Blacks are concerned about "whites'

pretense of being a liberal" and complain that "they refuse to accept me on the basis of professional competence and wish to relate on the basis of pity for the black." One black professor describes strained encounters with "white dilettantes--people who profess liberalism but still want to know 'what they can do about the problem' or 'what is the problem <u>now</u>'." More detailed comments follow:

> I don't like to be around white people who have been drinking. Many times a person's true feelings come out under the influence of alcohol. This was true of a white roommate I had during my graduate school years. We went to a bar and after a few drinks, he made an off-color remark which "turned me off." I moved out of the room at the end of the semester. This has happened on other occasions also. I now feel that most or a majority of professed liberals are basically insincere and hypocrites.
>
> My white colleagues are mostly "liberals," meaning they wish that you think they are sympathetic intellectuals; while in reality, they are uninvolved, conservative, fearful people, doing whatever, in limited involvement, simply because it is fashionable for liberals to "endorse" the Black struggle.
>
> A few of us (black and white) decided that getting together in some regular way to talk about racial matters might be helpful. One colleague (white) said she would call such a meeting. When I learned that the meeting had been held without any of the Black faculty present, and confronted her with this knowledge, asking why this had happened. Her response that the white members who had agreed to meet had felt that hostile feelings might have come to the surface and would be difficult to deal with.

Much of the interpersonal discomfort of black faculty members results from a perceived lack of professional recognition from their white colleagues:

> Tenure year has arrived for three people in my department including myself. There seems no doubt about two of us being granted tenure. The other has been denied the recommendation of the department--apparently necessary if tenure is to be granted. A couple of members--jokingly--so they thought--suggested that I encountered no difficulty with tenure because I am black. I did not appreciate hearing such comments.
>
> Some still resist the idea that a black man can be equally qualified. It usually surprises them to learn of black faculty credentials; example, one black administrator soon to be hired. Rumor immediately was that his credentials were questionable and skin color was the only motive. This man is now completing his Ph.D. and he was the first director of the Headstart program in the area.
>
> Some who seemed very angry because I received a higher degree. One lady said, "I don't ever call my husband Dr." I felt that they would have been more pleased if I had burned a building down.

Some blacks feel awkward because they sense that white professors are ambivalent and do not know how to behave in relation to blacks. Sometimes white professors treat them as professionals; at other times, however, the same whites relate to them solely on the basis of race. The blacks complain that "many whites are hung up with labels, e.g., black, Afro-American, etc." One black

professor said that "parties of a mixed nature frequently do not get off the ground because of tension or inability to treat each other as just people." Two professors express their feelings below:

> I always have the feeling that our friendship is temporary and/or influenced by situation "demands." Very generally, I am not convinced they feel toward me exactly as they feel about their white colleagues; I feel that the distinction is based entirely on race.
>
> There seems to be an attitude on the part of my white colleagues of not knowing just how to treat me. The attitude is sometimes patronizing and sometimes one of acceptance, making a very awkward situation.

A few blacks believe that discussions of racial issues makes white faculty members "uncomfortable":

> They act uneasy, especially when I bring up the institution as a relevant variable influencing racism and ethnocentrism. They're guilty, maybe.
>
> One female colleague becomes quite disturbed if the conversation turns to anything remotely related to race relations, discrimination, etc. Because she can only hear her view of any issue, I simply confine conversation to chitchat about the weather, etc. Conversations with my other colleagues are relaxed and open at all times.

Awkwardness is sometimes associated with or caused by a remark offered in jest, as the statement above regarding tenure indicates. Interpersonal stress between black and white faculty members is also signaled by avoidance, social rebuffs, and other forms of tactless behavior:

> I find it difficult to trust their sincerity. I am not welcomed or encouraged to participate in their more intimate inner circles.
>
> There are two in the department who still do not feel free enough with me to answer when I speak.
>
> In my department there is no strained feeling among my colleagues but with others in the college there is a feeling that one doesn't exist by many. One incident: a professor from another department who knows me passed by me and introduced a visiting white professor to another instructor (white) and acted as if I weren't there. The room had only 5 people in it at the time. The other person was introduced also.

The rather lengthy statements below conclude this discussion by illustrating the interaction of sexual and cultural differences with race in the production of awkward interpersonal relations:

> Being an African from South Africa, I expect the whites to have some strain at my presence although this is not always true. On top of it all, I am constantly aware that I am a foreigner and culturally an outsider both to American Blacks and Whites. I am aware also that the average American stereotype of Africa and Africans is that of jungle lions, savages, and cannibals. The elementary school text, Living in the Old World, does this nicely. Given this, I approach any new contact with an awareness of all sorts of attitudinal barriers to be crossed before we get to mutual human acceptance. When I came here, I had an inner spontaneity toward Blacks. This has led to all sorts of hurst so that I find myself readier to take social risks with whites for they hurt me less. So that for me, culturism, in addition to racism, is socially most troublesome.
>
> Such encounters vary depending upon the sex of my colleagues as well as color. As a Negro woman

> working in a predominantly white, male institution, I find that colleagues frequently are either ill-at-ease in my presence or they ignore me completely. Incident: I was seated at a table in the Faculty Dining Room. I was the only Negro there. No one was talking until an instructor came to the table. He introduced himself to all at the table (4 or 5) <u>except</u> me. This broke the ice and a general conversation ensued. Since I had been so pointedly ignored, I felt uncomfortable and I did not attempt to enter into conversation with anyone.

5.1 Conclusion

This paper examined the perception of awkward interpersonal relations (PAIR) among black and white professors in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities. In general, whites are more likely than blacks to report strained or awkward confrontations with black colleagues; professors in the field of education, administrators, and lower ranking faculty members are exceptions. The likelihood of perceiving awkwardness with black colleagues was predicted from several variables taken one, two, and three at a time. PAIR with black colleagues was shown to be especially likely when a white faculty member:

--is female, attended a white college, and grew up in the South
--is high SES and between the ages of 40 and 50
--is between the ages of 40 and 50 and grew up in the South
--is high SES and grew up in the South
--grew up in the South
--is tenured, holds the doctorate, and is employed by a high quality school

PAIR with black colleagues was shown to be particularly likely when a black faculty member:

--is female, attended a white college, and grew up in the South
--is over 50 years of age and is low SES
--is under 30 years of age and is high SES
--is under 30 years of age and grew up in the South
--is low SES and grew up in the South

For black professors, the following issues are problematic in their relations with other black faculty members:

--the militancy of their black colleagues
--the lack of militancy of their black colleagues

For the white professors, the following issues are problematic in their relations with black faculty members:

--personality differences
--encounters restricted to professional norms
--ambivalence toward blacks
--belief that blacks are "touchy"
--fear of racial polarization
--sensitivity to the discussion of racial issues

In general, blacks are more likely than whites to report strained or awkward confrontations with white colleagues; professors in the social sciences, and those in the lower faculty ranks are the exception. The relationship does not appear to be spurious. PAIR with white colleagues was shown to be especially likely when a white faculty member:

--is female
--is moderate of high SES and under 40 years of age
--is high SES
--is under 30 years of age and grew up outside the South
--is high SES and grew up outside the South

--in untenured
--is tenured, holds the doctorate, and is employed in a high quality school

PAIR with white colleagues was shown to be especially likely

when a black faculty member:

--grew up outside the South, attended a white college, and is female
--grew up outside the South, attended a black college, and is male
--grew up in the South, attended a white college, and is female
--is low SES and between the ages of 40 and 50
--is between the ages of 40 and 50 and grew up in the South
--is low SES and grew up in the South
--is under 30 years of age and grew up outside the South
--is low SES and grew up outside the South
--is tenured, does not hold the doctorate, and is employed by a lower quality school
--is untenured and does not hold the doctorate

For black professors, the following issues are problematic

in their relations with white professors:

--perceived insincerity of white liberals
--perceived white ambivalence
--belief that whites are "hung up" on labels
--interaction of cultural and sexual differences

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Footnotes

[1]This research could not have been conducted without the cooperation of many dedicated white and black professors.

[2]Schools were selected from the Education Directory, 1966-67, Part 3, Higher Education. All schools in the three regions designated as Southern by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce were eliminated from the sample: 1-South Atlantic (Delaware, Florida, Georgia, District of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland); East South Central (Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi); 3-West South Central (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas). Schools outside the South with predominantly black student bodies, such as Wilberforce, were also excluded, as well as military academies, religious schools that do not grant the bachelor's degree, and professional schools.

[3]Tests of significance are inappropriate and misleading when non-random samples are compared. The black respondents represent almost an entire population. The whites, partially matched, are also not a random sample. If the whites constituted an entire population, any racial differences, no matter how small, would be statistically significant. If the whites were a random sample, tests of significance would be conservative, since there would be sampling error for the whites but not for the blacks.

[4]The word "effect" is used to mean statistical association, not cause and effect which the term implies in everyday usage.

[5]The background SES index is based on the occupational prestige and life style of the parents of the white and black respondents. Data on the mother is included because of her importance in the black family. A principal components solution was computed in a factor analysis of three items: 1) family finances while growing up (code: 1-not always able to make ends meet; 2-able to have necessities only; 3-able to live comfortably; 4-well to do); 2) father's and 3) mother's occupation while respondent was growing up (code: 1-unskilled; 2-skilled; 2.5 housewife; 3-white collar; 4-professional). A single factor was extracted. Father's occupation loads highest on the factor, .812. Family finances loads .740, and mother's occupation loads lowest, .651. The sum of the loadings of each item on the factor is then weighted by the individual's response to each item, and this is summed over the three items. It is assumed that the resultant SES factor scores are a continuous variable with a mean of 2.00, a standard deviation of .806, skewness of -.005, and kurtosis of -1.457. All respondents (blacks and whites) are ordered according to the decreasing

magnitude of their factor scores; those in the top third of the distribution are high SES, and those in the middle and lower thirds are moderate and low SES, respectively.

[6]High quality predominantly white schools are those classified by Berelson (1960) as the "top 12 universities" and the "best 48 colleges" with the addition of Stanford and Brown Universities. High quality predominantly black schools "are among those established by northern benefactors and church related organizations during the reconstruction period": Fisk, Howard, Morehouse, Talladega, and Atlanta Universities (Rose, 1966, p. 24).

[7]Since the data are ordinal and anticipated relationships are monotonic, the Goodman-Kruskal gamma statistic is used to indicate strength of association.

Table 1* Percentage Distributions of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors By 13 Control Variables

Control Variable	Response Category	White	Black
age	under 30	8	15
	30-40	36	39
	40-50	27	33
	50-60	21	12
	Over 60	8	1
sex	male	81	72
	female	19	28
ses	low	23	40
	moderate	33	37
	high	44	23
region of origin	South	10	43
	non-south	90	57
racial mix of college attended	predominantly white	99	58
	predominantly black	1	42
tenure	tenured	59	30
	untenured	37	53
	not applicable for my position	4	17
highest earned degree	doctorate	70	48
	other	30	52
field	social sciences	28	27
	physical and biological sciences	12	12
	humanities and languages	21	12
	education	29	27
	other fields	10	22
rank	less than assistant professor	8	27
	assistant professor	30	33
	associate professor	25	15
	professor	23	9

*Table continued on following page.

Table 1--continued

Control Variable	Response Category	White	Black
rank	administrator	3	6
	any professional rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	11	10
control of employing school	public	56	56
	private	44	44
quality of employing school	high	8	15
	non-high	92	85
size of employing school	less than 1,000 students	10	8
	1,000-2,500	22	13
	2,500-9,000	19	27
	more than 9,000 students	49	52
location of employing school	eastern states[a]	49	52
	north central states[b]	38	32
	western states[c]	13	16

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 2* (1) Percentage Distributions, Means, and Gamma of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors To Perception of Awkward Interpersonal Relations (PAIR) with Black Colleagues; and, (2) Gamma for Race by PAIR for Each Level of Selected Control Variables

The Question	Response Categories and Weights
Sometimes in our face to face encounters we feel that the relationship is strained or awkward; we or the other person feels ill-at-ease. Encounters between myself and black professors are strained or awkward.	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree slightly 3 = Agree slightly 4 = Agree strongly x = Can't say, because I rarely encounter them

Race	Percent Responding 1	2	3	4	n	Mean	Gamma	n_x	Total N ($n+n_x$)	n_x/Total N (in percent)
White	70	22	8	0	311	1.39	-.297	131	442	30
Black	82	11	6	1	461	1.25		93	554	17

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Location of employing school	eastern states[a]	-.201
	north central states[b]	-.522
	western states[c]	-.270
Number of students on campus	less than 1,000	-.821
	1,000-2,500	-.342
	2,500-9,000	-.321
	more than 9,000	-.823
Type of employing institution	public	-.186
	private	-.413
Field	social sciences	-.790
	physical and biological sciences	-.801
	humanities and languages	-.202
	education	.314
	other fields (e.g., library science)	-.254

*Table continued on following page.

Table 2--continued

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Rank	less than assistant professor	.422
	assistant professor	.309
	associate professor	-.372
	professor	-.408
	administrator	.234
	any professional rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	.107

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 3 Percentage of 311 White and 461 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With Black Professors By Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up In South			Grew Up Outside of South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
				Whites					
Male	10(21)[a]	--	10(21)	7(205)	0(3)	7(208)	8(226)	0(3)	8(229)
Female	30(10)	--	30(10)	10(50)	--	10(50)	13(60)	--	13(60)
Total	16(31)	--	16(31)	8(258)	0(3)	8(258)	9(286)	0(3)	9(289)[b]
				Blacks					
Male	0(29)	9(99)	7(128)	6(156)	8(38)	6(194)	5(185)	9(137)	7(322)
Female	30(10)	0(30)	8(40)	9(46)	0(16)	7(62)	13(56)	0(46)	7(102)
Total	8(39)	7(129)	7(168)	6(202)	6(54)	6(256)	6(241)	7(183)	7(424)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 22 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 37 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 4 Percentage of 311 White and 461 Black Professors Who are High PAIR With Black Professors By SES, Age, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

Whites

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	0(2)[a]	Age under 30	14(22)
30-40	13(13)	30-40	6(85)
40-50	29(7)	40-50	10(77)
over 50	13(8)	over 50	5(74)
SES low	0(5)	SES low	7(58)
med	10(10)	med	6(85)
high	27(15)	high	10(115)
Total South	17(30)	Total non-South	8(258)

All Regions				
	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	33(3)	0(6)	13(15)	13(24)
30-40	0(23)	11(28)	9(47)	7(98)
40-50	9(23)	7(29)	19(32)	12(84)
over 50	7(14)	3(32)	8(36)	6(82)
Total	6(63)	6(95)	12(130)	9 (288)[b]

Blacks

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	16(25)	Age under 30	0(32)
30-40	0(59)	30-40	6(104)
40-50	13(62)	40-50	8(90)
over 50	10(31)	over 50	9(33)
SES low	17(53)	SES low	7(111)
med	3(78)	med	1(92)
high	9(46)	high	13(56)
Total South	9(177)	Total non-South	6(259)

All Regions				
	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	0(22)	0(16)	21(19)	7(57)
30-40	4(73)	0(66)	13(24)	4(163)
40-50	17(48)	5(65)	10(39)	10(152)
over 50	29(21)	0(23)	0(20)	9(64)
Total	10(164)	2(170)	11(102)	7(436)[c]

[a] Base N for percents.

[b] 23 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing.

[c] 25 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 5 Percentage of 311 White and 461 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR with Black Professors By Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				Whites					
High	22(18)[a]	0(2)	20(20)	- -	0(3)	0(3)	22(18)	0(5)	17(23)
Non-high	6(131)	3(32)	6(163)	13(64)	6(55)	9(119)	8(195)	5(87)	7(282)
Total	8(149)	3(34)	7(183)	13(64)	5(58)	9(122)	9(213)	4(92)	8(305)[b]
				Blacks					
High	9(35)	--	9(35)	0(22)	0(14)	0(36)	5(57)	0(14)	4(71)
Non-high	3(76)	18(34)	7(110)	7(99)	6(162)	6(261)	5(175)	8(196)	7(371)
Total	5(111)	18(34)	8(145)	6(121)	5(176)	5(297)	5(232)	7(210)	6(442)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]6 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]19 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 6* (1) Percentage Distributions, Means, And Gamma of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors to Perception of Awkward Interpersonal Relations (PAIR) With White Colleagues; and, (2) Gamma For Race By PAIR For Each Level of Selected Control Variables

The Question	Response Categories and Weights
Sometimes in our face to face encounters we feel that the relationship is strained or awkward; we or the other person feels ill-at-ease. Encounters between myself and white professors are strained or awkward.	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree slightly 3 = Agree slightly 4 = Agree strongly x = Can't say, because I rarely encounter them.

Race	Percent Responding 1	2	3	4	n	Mean	Gamma	n_x	Total N ($n+n_x$)	n_x/Total N (in percent)
White	67	21	12	0	418	1.44	.272	24	442	5
Black	54	24	20	2	508	1.70		46	554	8

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Location of employing school	eastern states[a]	.200
	north central states[b]	.384
	western states[c]	.274
Number of students on campus	less than 1,000	.372
	1,000-2,500	.271
	2,500-9,000	.304
	more than 9,000	.407
Type of employing institution	public	.311
	private	.201
Field	social sciences	-.018
	physical and biological sciences	.229
	humanities and languages	.189
	education	.560
	other fields (e.g., library sciences)	.252

*Table continued on following page.

Table 6--continued

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Rank	less than assistant professor	.007
	assistant professor	.109
	associate professor	.200
	professor	.283
	administrator	.438
	any professional rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	.361

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 7 Percentage of 418 White and 508 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR with White Professors by Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up In South			Grew Up Outside of South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
Whites									
Male	10(29)[a]	--	10(29)	10(281)	0(2)	19(283)	10(310)	0(2)	10(312)
Female	18(11)	--	18(11)	18(63)	--	18(63)	18(74)	--	18(74)
Total	13(40)		13(40)	12(346)	0(2)	12(346)	12(384)	0(2)	12(386)[b]
Blacks									
Male	23(40)	19(108)	20(148)	16(170)	31(35)	19(205)	17(210)	22(143)	19(353)
Female	30(10)	11(37)	15(47)	32(53)	19(16)	29(69)	32(63)	13(53)	23(116)
Total	24(50)	17(145)	19(195)	20(223)	28(51)	21(274)	21(273)	19(196)	20(469)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 32 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 39 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 8 Percentage of 418 White and 508 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With White Professors by SES, Age, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

Whites

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	0(4)[a]	Age under 30	20(30)
30-40	16(19)	30-40	14(118)
40-50	14(7)	40-50	7(77)
over 50	11(9)	over 50	10(101)
SES low	17(6)	SES low	4(84)
med	13(15)	med	10(111)
high	11(18)	high	17(151)
Total South	13(39)	Total Non-South	12(346)

All Regions

	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	0(3)	20(10)	19(21)	18(34)
30-40	3(33)	18(45)	19(59)	15(137)
40-50	3(32)	7(31)	12(41)	8(104)
over 50	9(22)	3(40)	17(48)	10(110)
Total	4(90)	10(126)	17(169)	12(385)[b]

Blacks

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	15(40)	Age under 30	41(32)
30-40	12(66)	30-40	16(109)
40-50	31(67)	40-50	22(100)
over 50	16(31)	over 50	17(36)
SES low	32(73)	SES low	27(113)
med	19(80)	med	13(97)
high	4(51)	high	22(67)
Total South	20(204)	Total Non-South	21(277)

All Regions

	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	27(34)	21(16)	23(22)	26(72)
30-40	20(74)	10(71)	10(30)	14(175)
40-50	40(57)	20(65)	16(45)	26(167)
over 50	29(21)	12(25)	10(21)	16(67)
Total	29(186)	16(177)	14(118)	20(481)[c]

[a] Base N for percents.

[b] 33 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 27 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 9 Percentage of 418 White and 508 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With White Professors By Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, And Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				Whites					
High	18(22)[a]	0(2)	17(24)	22(9)	0(3)	17(12)	19(31)	0(5)	17(36)
Non-high	6(165)	12(50)	7(215)	16(87)	18(67)	17(154)	9(252)	15(117)	11(369)
Total	7(187)	12(52)	8(239)	17(96)	17(70)	17(166)	10(283)	15(122)	12(405)[b]
				Blacks					
High	13(39)	--	13(39)	0(22)	29(17)	13(39)	8(61)	29(17)	13(128)
Non-high	19(79)	35(40)	24(119)	12(105)	31(187)	24(292)	15(184)	31(227)	24(411)
Total	17(118)	35(40)	22(158)	10(127)	30(204)	23(331)	14(245)	31(244)	23(489)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 13 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 19 missing cases due to blanks.

CHAPTER II

A Multivariate Approach to Race Relations: Part II-- Professors and Students in Integrated Colleges

By David M. Rafky

1.1 Introduction

This is Part II of a three part paper on race relations in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities. Part II focuses on 554 black and 442 white professors' perception of awkward interpersonal relations (PAIR) in their encounters with students. Section 2 considers encounters with black students; Section 3 deals with confrontations with white students. In addition to a content analysis of the statements made by the black and white professors, a multivariate procedure is used to relate a series of control or independent variables to PAIR with students.

2.1 PAIR With Black Students

Thirteen percent of the white professors and 10 percent of the black professors (Table 1) are excluded from the following analysis because they do not teach black students. Many of the black professors, however, have contact with black students who are not in their classes or who attend other schools:

> I have no Negro students in my classes at the present time; nor do I have any Negro students doing doctoral research under my direction. So my encounters with them are all outside the immediate context of my teaching.

Of course, many schools have few if any black students, and some white professors point out that black students in their schools tend to avoid their disciplines. One white archaeologist laments that "there are few Negroes interested in my specialty," and a white mathematician states that "we rarely have Negro students at Ohio State in mathematics--more enter education."

The gamma and means in Table 1 indicate that race and PAIR with black students are not related; black faculty are only slightly less likely than white faculty to feel awkward in the presence of black students. A relationship does not appear when region or type of institution is controlled. Among faculty members in larger (more than 2,500 students) schools, teachers in the social sciences, associate professors, and department chairmen, blacks are less likely than whites to feel awkward with black students. For administrators, however, the reverse is true; that is, among administrators, blacks are more likely than whites to report high PAIR with black students.

In Tables 2, 3, and 4, the percentages of respondents who agree strongly or slightly with the statement measuring PAIR are classified by several variables simultaneously. Table 2 classifies black and white professors by region of origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. Of the women attending white colleges, whites are more likely than blacks to report PAIR with black students, 7 percent compared to 0 percent. This pattern is maintained for women who grew up in the South and for those who grew up in other regions. In addition, among men who grew up in the South and attended white schools, whites are more than twice as likely as blacks to feel awkward with black students.

A comparison of percentage differences between columns and rows on the top right side of Table 2 shows that for the whites sex is a better predictor of the dependent variable than is region. For the sex categories, the marginals range from 15 percent to 7 percent (a difference of 8 percent) while the difference attributable to region is 5 percent (18 percent to 13 percent). For the whites, men are more likely than women to be high PAIR; whites who grew up in the South are more likely than whites from other regions to be high PAIR. High PAIR with black students

is particularly likely for white men who grew up in the South.

For the blacks, sex is a better predictor (17 percent to 7 percent) of the dependent variable than is region (15 percent to 14 percent) or race of college attended (16 percent to 13 percent). Among blacks raised in the South, men are more likely than women to feel awkward with black students, regardless of the racial mix of undergraduate college attended. Among blacks who grew up outside the South, however, men who attended black colleges are lower on PAIR than women who attended black colleges. Perception of awkwardness with black students is especially likely when: (1) blacks (men and women) have been raised in the South and attended black colleges; (2) black men grew up outside the South and attended white colleges; and, (3) black women were raised outside the South and attended black colleges.

The right side of Table 3 classified black and white professors by age and SES simultaneously. The left side presents only the marginals for each region, since the cell N's are too low for reliable percentaging. In general, there is no relationship between race and PAIR with black students when SES and age are controlled at the same time. Whites

under fifty years of age and raised in the South are twice as likely to feel awkward with black students than black professors with the same background; among faculty members over fifty years of age who grew up in the South, the relationship above between race and PAIR is reversed.

Among the whites, faculty members who are under forty years of age tend to be high PAIR, regardless of SES and region. For whites who grew up in the South, those of high SES are particularly likely to feel awkward with black students.

For the blacks, the relationship between age and the dependent variable depends on region of origin. Among blacks who grew up in the South, those over fifty years of age are the most likely to be high PAIR, while for blacks from other regions, those under 30 years of age are the most likely to be high PAIR. The same pattern appears for the relationship between SES and the dependent variable. Among blacks from the South, high SES professors are the highest on PAIR; for blacks from other regions, those from low and moderate SES backgrounds are highest on PAIR.

Table 4 classifies the white and black professors by highest degree, tenure, and quality of employing school.

Among the whites, those at high quality schools are more likely than those in lower quality schools to be high PAIR. Perception of awkwardness with black students is especially likely for whites who (1) are tenured, hold the doctorate, and are in high quality schools, and, (2) are untenured, hold the doctorate, and are inlower quality schools.

Among the blacks, the effects of tenure depend on highest degree and quality of employing school. Tenured blacks who hold the doctorate and are in lower quality schools are more likely to be high on PAIR than untenured blacks who have earned the doctorate and are in lower quality schools. Among blacks with the doctorate in high quality schools, however, the reverse is true. Untenured blacks who hold the doctorate, and are in high quality schools are most likely to be high PAIR; 40 percent of the professors in this sub-group feel awkward with black students. Blacks who are untenured, hold the doctorate and are in lower quality schools are least likely to be high on pair; 2 percent of the professors in this category feel awkward with black students.

Tables 1-4 About Here

2.2 PAIR With Black Students: Described By Black Professors

The majority of the black professors report that their relations with black students are cordial and friendly. The data suggests, however, that at least some of this positive feeling may be the result of a willingness by black academicians to "overlook" certain problematic situations: "with black students, a greater tolerance exists for general 'student initiated strain.'" In any case, the respondents point out that black students "are happy to have me here," "I am very popular with Negro students because I am 'one of the few,'" and "we seem to complement each other." One professor is proud of the "waves and smiles they give me as I walk through the campus." A young black professor "really dig[s] people" and has "no problem in establishing a 'rap' on any level."

One indication of the rapport between black faculty members and black students is the co-option of these professors by black students to serve as activity and personal advisors:

> I am presently scheduling a meeting with black students at their request for help with their organization.

> I have been asked by a group to be their advisor.
>
> I am a relaxed advisor to a group of black students, the B.S.A. [Black Students Association].
>
> I have been extensively counseling and tutoring black students on campus and recruiting black students off campus for future enrollment.
>
> Both black and white students have come to me within the past semester to discuss personal and general problems.

The majority of black faculty members who report strained relations with black students indicate that the students are "too militant." Militant students may be "upset" by professors who are reportedly "going too easy on whitey," or are not involved in the "black struggle." Perhaps this is due to problems which these students have with their own self-conceptions, as two black faculty members suggest:

> I only have strain with those who have self image problems. They are sometimes uncomfortable with their blackness and find some class discussions upsetting.
>
> I have problems with black students who are fighting for an identity; and with those who have 'found' themselves who are fighting assimilation.

In any case, problems between black students and black professors are most frequently attributed by the academics to the "militancy" of black students:

My relationships with black students have been under some degree of strain since I offered a course on institutional racism. They feel that I was influenced by the senior faculty to go easy on 'whitey.' This was not true because my lectures only sought to present facts rather than ideology. The strain was intensified by the fact that the black students, for the most part, refused to participate in the class discussions and depended on me to 'sock it to' their classmates.

They feel that I am an 'Uncle Tom,' because I keep to my work a great deal.

The relationship between myself and black students is sometimes strained due to their general mistrust of anyone over 30 years of age, until you 'prove yourself,' and because of their general distrust of any black man who represents some degree of success and appears to 'get along' with the whites. The incident? They have told me!

I agree to the point that there are a few Negro students on this campus, who, I believe, are moderate in their thinking. There are, however, others in the majority who express militant attitudes. It is the latter with whom my relations are strained.

My views on racial matters don't parallel theirs completely. One group of more militant blacks, for example, referred to me as a 'part-time' black man.

The second most frequently mentioned cause of awkward student-professor relations is inadequate black student achievement and motivation. Several respondents are concerned that "some students have naive understanding and unwillingness to learn," and that others "think they have all the answers." Other black professors stated:

> Black students have been imported to this college in a crash program. Many of them are cruising and I have no patience with their laziness. I cluck over them like a wet hen and pressure them. I can't tolerate their failing.
>
> They expect differential recognition in the teacher-student relationship. Periodically, they expect some favoritism and/or leniency in assignments, etc.
>
> My Negro students, I suspect, expect more consideration from me than from white teachers. I intend to give them more consideration, but I do not want them to know it.

2.3 PAIR With Black Students: Described By White Professors

Most white professors do not feel awkward with black students. They report "excellent" and "free and open" communication with them. One says that his "favorite Ph.D. candidate is a Negro and other Negro students seek me out." Another "frequently discusses 'race' questions" in his office and "treats Negro students no differently than whites in class." One white professor points out that "a young Negro student from Selma, Alabama lived with us for two years and still regards us as foster parents." Other white professors said:

> One Negro student turned in to me a case study about herself voluntarily, thus sharing much of herself with me. I have since written three references for her at her request--one for her

> placement file. The only Negro student I had last semester has asked me to write a letter for her placement file.
>
> A Negro student in my class frequently asks me questions of an easy-going, inquisitive nature which gives one cues that my image to him is one of a relaxed manner. I treat him in class discussions the way I treat others. I do not feel uneasy about his questions or his presence.
>
> I tend to talk longer with Negro students (and instructors) than with their white counterparts and I find that conversations with them cover a wider range of topics.

Much of the awkwardness that white professors experience when dealing with black students is attributed to the same kinds of issues that traditionally arise between professors and students, regardless of race. For example, one professor reports that he talks "with a number of Negro students, with some constraint, but no more than with white students." Two additional comments are to the point:

> I feel awkward largely in the same way that I do with white students. Rather than due to race, it seems a function of the 'generation gap' and as a result, I feel accused as being guilty with the burden of proving my own innocense.
>
> In class and in my office, I think there is very little strain. In my home, at first, sometimes a bit, but no more than with white students. Two Negro girls came for dinner to discuss projects on which they were working. They did seem more awkward than some whites, for a while, then they relaxed. So do some of my less poised whites appear awkward--they see us 'profs' out of our 'normal' classroom roles and it takes a bit of

> doing to bridge the gap. The black girls most ill-at-ease also had a social class difference to worry about. I think it comes as a surprise to some students (those out of touch with the academic milieu) that professors eat, sleep and bathe!

White professors are more aware of race then they were in the past, and this undoubtedly contributes to the awkwardness that many of them experience in their relations with black students:

> I am more uptight with black students than in past years. If a Negro student comes into my office, I am <u>aware</u> that he is black. I wonder how he reacts to me?
>
> After nearly five months in Africa, I found myself conscious of my color when meeting my first Negro student on campus. 'How should I behave toward him?' 'How can I act so that he will not think I'm acting?' were the kinds of questions running through my mind. I had not been made aware of my color in Africa. My reaction upon returning to the states was doubtless a reflection of the publicized heightened tensions here rather than an indication of any personal experience of such tensions.

Awkwardness is experienced by many white professors in the classroom. One feels, for example, that "a student may be holding back in class because I am white." Another complains that "with huge classes you haven't a chance to get the issues resolved." Furthermore, "in class it is difficult to assess the reaction of black students to social

issues as put forth by me in discussion." These white professors sense that many "Negro students are ambivalent about their 'blackness' in discussions of race prejudice, and are (or appear to be) under pressure within the classroom situation." Occasionally these pressures weaken, as one white teacher explains:

> I like the black students in my classes. They speak to me freely about everything <u>except</u> race. While discussing polygenic inheritance, I realized that one of my 'black' students had blue eyes. The whole class entered into a spirited unembarrassed discussion of how this might have come about.

The two sources of "strain" most often mentioned by white professors are black militants and black students who expect "special" academic consideration. One professor explains that "sometimes <u>they</u> act as if they should get preferential treatment and there is some awkwardness when <u>I</u> don't." Another cites "one student [who] obviously thought she could get away with doing less work than others." Several teachers complain that "they [black students] expect treatment of their grades to be given 'special' consideration." Although "only some black students have been exploiting their blackness" in this way. Nevertheless it "causes white resentment." "Preferential treatment" also takes the form of

demands or requests that the curriculum include "relevant black courses." The quotes below illustrate dilemmas created by demands for "special treatment" in grading or curricula:

> Dealing with the black students in an African history course is certainly more difficult for me than dealing with white students, in large part because of the terrific emotional charge of the course for black students. It is their culture and heritage and in some sense, they feel, (but don't articulate) they should be teaching the course. They don't criticize my attitude toward Africa (they tend to have strong American reactions--surprise at African culture, that they 'really are people') specifically, yet I am probably a racist at heart, as are all whites, hence I am always suspect, both <u>re</u> Africa and <u>re</u> them personally. Further, since many of them are not well trained in college techniques (principally writing) due to a special admissions policy, they tend to have trouble in the course. If I fail them on a paper which is badly written, shows no effort, is not on the assigned area, and is highly polemical, am 'I getting' them for their ideas or their color? The formalities are they feel, irrelevant, and they don't what help from a white on how to write, how to approach a paper. Task--to make explicit the unspoken attacks on me and then discuss them, while showing why I did in fact fail the paper.
>
> This year a group of black students have asked the history department to offer a course 'black history' next year. Since the department is understaffed my colleagues and I decided that we would have to choose between a course in English history (the only course in English history in the college) and a new course in black history. If a group of Italian students had requested a course in Italina-American history, I would have quickly dismissed them,

> because I think that English history is a more important course for undergrads. I felt very uneasy when I was confronted by black students and procrastinated rather than make a decision, I still haven't decided because I keep trying to find a way to include both courses.

When white teachers do not yield to demands for preferential treatment, they are often accused of being racially prejudiced. One professor explains that "I sometimes feel that they have an innate feeling that all whites are prejudiced." Another states:

> They accuse me (some do, others don't at all) of being prejudiced and grading according to color. They accuse other faculty of the same thing. I have tried to indicate that color has no bearing on my grading them or my attitude toward them. But no doubt my refusal to give them better grades than they deserve influences them.

Black student militants are as problematic for white professors as demands for preferential treatment. One professor is "lucky" because he has "never had to deal with a militant." He is "very pleased with" the one black girl in his class this year; he "enjoys counseling" this girl whom he describes as "a good student of sunny disposition who seems to try to maintain a personal, non-racial orientation toward other people." Another white professor candidly admits that "the hostility I feel toward black activists limits

discussion and mutual understanding." This explains why many white teachers prefer to focus their discussions with black students on their disciplines, avoiding social and political issues. Two white professors comment:

> I suppose that if there is one difficulty I have it would be with unreasonably militant students--black or white. I have often faced such students, and try hard to understand what I hear them saying; when, however, they refuse to listen to what I would like to say, it gives me cause for concern.
>
> My personal relations with those [black students] I know well have been excellent. Some of the more militant who do not know me well seem constrained in my presence. Usually I am able to improve their attitudes within a short time.

Finally, not all white professors are uptight with black militants. A few like the one whose comments are reproduced below, prefer to deal with militant black students:

> I spoke with two black freshmen students about the middle of the semester. 'A' said to me: 'Hey man, how can I take this course--you dig the scene.' We had been discussing the riot in Watts with 23 white students and two black students. 'A' was black-Newark-militant-panther. 'B,' the other black student was clipped, clean speech, read Ayn Rand and gave me hostile vibrations. I felt more compassion for 'A' than for this white nigger who had too much twisted hate. Negro students, especially the ghetto nigger, seem to trust me. The clean nigger who's going to make it in this white world I find more disturbed and less communicative. Probably because both groups of blacks sense my bias toward 'Muhammed Ali' and

> not to 'Joe Lewis.' I respond to hostile Negro 'A' more readily than to polite 'B.' But I don't think this is accurate: I try very hard to start talking to the middle class white Negro, but I don't seem to be able to crack that barrier. But one cannot push; one simply suffers a bit.

3.1 PAIR With White Students

Only 4 percent of the white professors and 6 percent of the black professors (Table 5) do not teach white students, and so are excluded from the analysis which follows. These faculty members tend to be full time researchers or engaged in field activities that take them away from the campus.

The gamma and means in Table 5 measure a moderate relationship between race and PAIR with white students; black faculty are more likely than white faculty to feel awkward with white students. The relationship persists for all regions, campus sizes, and types of schools. The relationship is particularly weak for professors in the humanities and social sciences; it is especially strong for professors in education and for administrators.

In Tables 6, 7 and 8 the percentage of respondents who agree strongly or slightly with the statement measuring PAIR are classified by several variables simultaneously. Table 6 classified black and white professors by region of

origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. Blacks are more likely than whites to feel awkward with white students when these three variables are controlled simultaneously. Among the whites, men are more likely than women to be high PAIR, regardless of region of origin. White men who grew up in the South are especially likely to be high PAIR with white students.

For the black faculty members, race or college attended is a better predictor of the dependent variable than is sex. For the college categories, the marginals range from 26 percent to 13 percent (a difference of 13 percent) while the difference attributable to sex is 3 percent (20 percent to 17 percent). Among blacks who grew up in the South, men and women who attended black colleges are the most likely to be high PAIR. All sub-groups of blacks from other regions are equally likely to be high PAIR, except women who attended black colleges; they are especially unlikely to be high on the dependent variable. Generally, blacks who grew up in the South are higher on PAIR than those from outside the South. This pattern is maintained, however, only for those who attended black colleges. Of the blacks who attended white colleges, those who grew up outside the

South are more likely to feel awkward with white students than blacks who were raised in the South. Black women who grew up in the South and attended black colleges are highest on the dependent variable; 37 percent of this sub-group feels awkward with white students. None of the women who grew up in the South and attended white colleges or who grew up in other regions and attended black colleges feel awkward with white students.

The right side of Table 7 classifies the respondents by race, age, and SES simultaneously. The left side presents only the column and row totals for each region, since the cell N's are too low for reliable percentaging. The relationship between race and PAIR is maintained for most levels of age, SES, and region; it is particularly strong for faculty members from low SES backgrounds. For the whites, region is a better predictor of the dependent variable than SES or age. Whites who grew up in the South are more than three times as likely as whites who grew up in other regions to feel awkward with white students. Whites who are high SES and grew up in the South are especially likely to report high PAIR.

A comparison of percentage differences between columns and rows in the lower right side of Table 7, shows that SES

is a better predictor of high PAIR than is age. For the SES categories, the marginals range from 32 percent to 11 percent (a difference of 21 percent) while the difference attributable to age is 9 percent (25 percent to 16 percent). Younger blacks (under thirty) are more likely to be high PAIR than older blacks, and lower SES blacks are more likely than upper and moderate SES blacks to be high on the dependent variable. Black professors who are under thirty and low SES are especially likely to feel awkward with black students; 39 percent of these faculty members report high PAIR. In addition, blacks from the South are generally more likely than blacks from other regions to feel awkward with white students. The effects due to region (10 percent) are about the same magnitude as those attributable to age (9 percent), but are weaker than those associated with SES (21 percent). Blacks who grew up in the South and are low SES are highest on PAIR; 40 percent of this sub-group feel awkward with white students.

Table 8 classifies the professors by race, highest degree, tenure, and quality of employing school. Generally, the relationship between race and PAIR with white students is maintained for most values of the control variables. The

relationship is particularly strong for professors in lower quality schools, especially if they are tenured and hold the doctorate or are untenured and have not earned the doctorate. For tenured faculty members who hold the doctorate and are in high quality schools, however, whites are more likely than blacks to feel awkward with white students.

For the whites, the effects attributable to region, tenure, and highest degree are small. Quality of school, however, is a good predictor of the dependent variable, especially for tenured whites holding doctorates. That is, in this sub-group of whites, those in high quality schools are more than three times as likely as those in lower quality schools to feel awkward with white students.

Among untenured black professors, those without the doctorate are more likely than those holding the degree to be high PAIR. Untenured blacks without the doctorate who are in lower quality schools are especially likely to feel awkward with white students. Among blacks who are tenured, however, faculty members with the doctorate are more likely than those without the degree to report high PAIR. Tenured blacks who hold the doctorate and are in lower quality schools are especially likely to feel awkward with white students.

Tables 5-8 About Here

3.2 PAIR With White Students: Described By Black Professors

Most black faculty members report that encounters with white students are cordial, friendly, and characterized by mutual respect. Black professors state that "I have been evaluated positively by both black and white students;" "students show a willingness to accept me for what I am;" "both black and white students have come to me within the past semester to discuss personal and general problems;" and "they recommend my classes highly, come to me for counsel, invite me to their homes or rooms, send me letters, [and] give me birthday surprises." In some cases greater concern is felt for white students than for black students:

> We get along quite well. I am as concerned about their progress as much as I am about the progress of black students. In some cases, more so, as many misconceptions need correcting.

Of course, many of the interpersonal problems of black professors and white students are the same type that come between any faculty member and his students, respective of race. These awkward situations typically focus on the following issues:

Students are frequently questioning why they did not make an A on an examination.

Because of pseudo professional respect given me for the sake of better grades.

Sometimes with the boisterous students who consistently want their way, either beneficial or not.

I love my profession with a passion. The people involved in my associations are human beings judged by merit, not pigment. My desire is to educate them or to administer. My frustrations come when I fail to help them.

I am black and my position is assistant director of conduct. I am a non-Greek and most cases coming before our office concerning a person who is a Greek wish to speak to the Director who is himself a Greek.

Many black faculty members <u>believe</u> that white students resent them, but they are not certain:

Some white students might resent my presence in the classroom.

Encounters are not strained or awkward for me. Although I can't describe any incident, I suspect that encounters are strained for certain white students.

Several respondents feel awkward with students from lower SES and fundamentalist backgrounds, who may particularly resent the professional status of black professors:

Only with those who come from extremely fundamentalist backgrounds and find some class discussions disturbing.

> Some lower class whites are resentful of those blacks who have attained some degree of success or professional standing.
>
> I am put on the defensive by poor white students, for they seem quick to criticize my presence as a professional.

Student awkwardness is generally attributed to lack of experience with Negro professionals. Sometimes, however, situational factors, such as the 1964 presidential election or particular social events, lead to or exacerbate awkwardness. The first two statements illustrate strained relations between black faculty members and white students due to students' lack of experience, and the latter two statements emphasize contextual factors:

> Since I am the first black staff member to come to the college, some students do not know how to accept me due to their lack of encounters with black leaders earlier.
>
> This [awkwardness] I think is a result of their own inexperience, biases, and general orientation. Most have never had a non-white in any authority relation with them.
>
> I sometimes feel self-conscious talking to a white, mini-skirted, female student on the campus as people are passing by.
>
> Normally my relationship with my students is great. However, during the 1964 presidential election, I detected some hostility on the part of some students. I attributed it to the emotional climate which existed at that time.

Finally, many black faculty members report that initial awkwardness with white students is quickly dispelled as they get to know each other better:

> This is true until they get to know me, and realize that I am a responsible teacher. Evaluations are favorable, and one can sense the atmosphere of confidence that develops each day. After a few days, there is no awkwardness or strain between us.
>
> Except for the first class meeting of a semester. Some register surprise at seeing a black professor.
>
> Most are too initially overwhelmed to be uptight or nervous and my informality allows them to establish relaxed relations with the first black many have met.

4.1 Conclusion

This paper examined the perception of awkward interpersonal relations (PAIR) among professors and students in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities. In general, white faculty members are as likely as black faculty members to report strained or awkward confrontations with black students. For some categories of faculty members, however, blacks are less likely than whites to feel awkward with black students: teachers in schools with more than 2,500 students, social scientists, associate professors and department chairmen. Black administrators, however, are

more likely than white administrators to report awkwardness with black students. The likelihood of perceiving awkwardness with black students was predicted from several variables taken one, two, and three at a time. PAIR with black students was shown to be especially likely when a white faculty member:

is male and grew up in the South
is high SES and under forty years of age
is from the South
grew up in the South and is high SES
grew up outside the South and is under thirty years of age
is tenured, in a high quality school, and holds the doctorate
is untenured, teaches in a lower quality school, and does not hold the doctorate

PAIR with black students was shown to be especially likely when a black faculty member:

grew up in the South, is male, and attended a black college
Grew up outside the South, is male, and attended a white college
grew up outside the South, is female, and attended a black college
is high SES and is under 30 years of age
is high SES and grew up in the South
is low SES and grew up outside the South
is over 50 years of age and grew up in the South
is untenured, holds the doctorate, and is in a high quality school

For black professors, the following issues are problematic in their relations with black students:

students are too militant

inadequate students' achievement and motivation

For white professors the following issues are problematic in their relations with black students:

professor's awareness of race

belief that black students are ambivalent about their blackness

belief that students expect preferential treatment

Student militancy[c]

In general, black faculty members are more likely than whites to report strained or awkward confrontations with white students. The relationship is particularly strong for faculty members in education and for administrators; it is weak for faculty in the humanities and social sciences. The relationship does not appear to be spurious. PAIR with white students was shown to be especially likely when a white faculty member:

grew up in the South and is male,

is under 40 years of age and grew up in the South

is high SES and grew up in the South

grew up in the South

is tenured, holds the doctorate, and is employed by a high quality school

PAIR with white students was shown to be especially likely when a black faculty member:

grew up in the South and attended a black college

grew up in the South, attended a black college, and is female

is low SES and under 30 years of age

is low SES

is low SES and grew up in the South

is undero30 years of age and grew up in the South

is from the South

is low SES and grew up outside the South

is untenured and does not hold the doctorate

is untenured, does not hold the doctorate, and employed by a low quality school

is tenured, holds the doctorate, and is employed by a low quality school

For black professors, the following issues are problematic in their relations with white students:

resentment by white students, especially those from low SES and fundamentalist backgrounds

lack of student experience in dealing with black professionals

contemporary issues, such as the campaign of Governor Wallace

Table 1

(1) Percentage Distributions, Means, and Gamma of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors to Perception of Awkward Interpersonal Relations (PAIR) with Black Students; and, (2) Gamma for Race by PAIR For Each Level of Selected Control Variables

The Question	Response Categories and Weights
Sometimes in our face to face encounters we feel that the relationship is strained or awkward; we or the other person feels ill-at-ease. Encounters between myself and black students are strained or awkward	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree slightly 3 = Agree slightly 4 = Agree strongly x = Can't say, because I rarely encounter them

Race	Percent Responding 1	2	3	4	n	Mean	Gamma	n_x	Total N $(n+n_x)$	n_x/Total (in percent)
White	66	22	11	1	385	1.47	-.060	57	442	13
Black	70	17	12	1	501	1.45		53	554	10

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
location of employing school	eastern states[a]	-.049
	north central states[b]	-.103
	western states[c]	.041
number of students on campus	less than 1,000	.031
	1,000-2,500	-.098
	2,500-9,000	-.200
	more than 9,000	-.237

Table 1--Continued

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
type of employing institution	public	.009
	private	-.141
field	social sciences	-.297
	physical and biological sciences	-.075
	humanities and languages	-.044
	education	.061
	other fields (e.g., library science)	.061
rank	less than assistant professor	-.021
	assistant professor	-.161
	associate professor	-.240
	professor	.261
	administrator	-.320
	any professorial rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	-.230

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 2

Percentage of 385 White and 501 Black Professors Who are High PAIR With Black Students by Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of his Life

	Grew Up in South			Grew Up Outside of South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
Whites									
Male	21 (28)[a]	--	21 (28)	14 (251)	0 (2)	14 (253)	16 (279)	0 (2)	15 (281)
Female	9 (11)	--	9 (11)	6 (64)	--	6 (64)	7 (75)	--	7 (75)
Total	18 (39)	--	18 (39)	13 (317)	0 (2)	13 (317)	13 (354)	0 (2)	13 (356)[b]
Blacks									
Male	10 (40)	19 (104)	17 (144)	19 (165)	9 (35)	17 (200)	17 (205)	17 (139)	17 (344)
Female	0 (12)	14 (43)	11 (55)	0 (53)	19 (16)	4 (64)	0 (65)	15 (59)	7 (124)
Total	8 (52)	18 (147)	15 (199)	14 (218)	12 (51)	14 (269)	13 (270)	16 (198)	14 (464)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]29 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the values of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]37 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 3

Percentage of 385 White and 501 Black Professors Who are High PAIR With Black Students by SES, Age, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up in the South	Grew Up Outside South		All Regions			
				low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
Whites							
Age under 30	0 (4)[a]	28 (29)		0 (3)	20 (10)	30 (20)	24 (33)
30-40	28 (18)	15 (98)		17 (26)	15 (40)	18 (50)	17 (116)
40-50	14 (7)	10 (94)		7 (31)	13 (32)	11 (38)	10 (101)
over 50	11 (9)	8 (96)		10 (21)	10 (41)	7 (43)	9 (105)
			Total	11 (81)	13 (123)	15 (151)	13 (355[b])
SES low	17 (6)	11 (75)					
med	7 (14)	14 (109)					
high	28 (18)	13 (133)					
Total	18 (38)	13 (317)					
Blacks							
Age under 30	18 (39)	28 (32)		21 (33)	19 (16)	27 (22)	23 (71)
30-40	14 (72)	16 (116)		15 (83)	15 (75)	20 (30)	15 (188)
40-50	7 (70)	6 (94)		5 (57)	10 (62)	4 (45)	7 (164)
over 50	30 (27)	10 (30)		24 (21)	22 (18)	11 (18)	19 (57)
			Total	14 (194)	14 (171)	14 (115)	14 (480)[c]

14 (480)[c]

Table 3--Continued

Grew Up in the South	Grew Up Outside South	All Regions			
		low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
SES low	13 (80)	15 (114)			
med	11 (79)	16 (92)			
high	22 (49)	8 (66)			
Total	14 (208)	14 (272)			

[a]Base N for percents.

[b]30 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]21 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 4

Percentage of 385 White and 501 Black Professors Who are High PAIR With Black Students by Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
Whites									
High	19 (21)[a]	0 (2)	17 (23)	60 (5)	33 (3)	15 (8)	27 (26)	20 (5)	26 (31)
Non-high	7 (152)	15 (48)	9 (200)	19 (81)	10 (63)	15 (144)	11 (233)	12 (111)	11 (344)
Total	9 (173)	14 (50)	10 (233)	21 (86)	11 (66)	16 (152)	13 (259)	12 (116)	13 (375)[b]
Blacks									
High	5 (39)	--	5 (39)	40 (25)	12 (17)	29 (42)	19 (64)	12 (17)	17 (81)
Non-high	20 (75)	9 (34)	17 (109)	2 (105)	16 (187)	11 (292)	9 (180)	15 (221)	12 (401)
Total	15 (114)	9 (34)	14 (148)	9 (130)	15 (204)	13 (334)	12 (244)	14 (238)	13 (482)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]10 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]19 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 5

(1) Percentage Distributions, Means, and Gamma of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors to Perception of Awkward Interpersonal Relations (PAIR) With White Students; and, (2) Gamma for Race by PAIR For Each Level of Selected Control Variables

The Question	Response Categories and Weights
Sometimes in our face to face encounters we feel that the relationship is strained or awkward; we or the other person feels ill-at-ease. Encounters between myself and white students are strained or awkward.	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree slightly 3 = Agree slightly 4 = Agree strongly x = Can't say, because I rarely encounter them

Race	Percent Responding				n	Mean Gamma	n_x	Total N ($n+n_x$)	n_x/Total N (in percent)
	1	2	3	4					
White	77	18	5	0	426	1.27	.356	16	442	4
Black	63	19	16	2	522	1.57		32	554	6

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
location of employing school	eastern states[a]	.392
	north central states[b]	.348
	western states[c]	.420
number of students on campus	less than 1,000	.200
	1,000-2,500	.380
	2,500-9,000	.320
	more than 9,000	.275
type of employing institution	public	.387
	private	.287

Table 5--Continued

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
field	social sciences	.134
	physical and biological sciences	.330
	humanities and languages	-.011
	education	.665
	other fields (e.g., library, science)	.343
rank	less than assistant professor	.398
	assistant professor	.285
	associate professor	.300
	professor	.404
	administrator	.590
	any professorial rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	.358

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 6

Percentage of 426 White and 522 Black Professors Who are High PAIR With White Students by Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up in South			Grew up Outside of South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
Whites									
Male	17 (29)[a]	--	17 (29)	5 (286)	0 (3)	5 (289)	6 (315)	0 (3)	6 (318)
Female	0 (11)	--	0 (11)	0 (65)	--	0 (65)	0 (76)	--	0 (76)
Total	13 (40)	--	13 (40)	4 (354)	0 (3)	4 (354)	5 (391)	0 (3)	5 (394)[b]
Blacks									
Male	5 (43)	28 (106)	22 (149)	15 (171)	14 (42)	15 (213)	13 (214)	24 (148)	17 (362)
Female	0 (12)	37 (43)	29 (55)	15 (53)	0 (13)	12 (66)	12 (65)	29 (56)	20 (121)
Total	4 (55)	31 (149)	24 (204)	15 (224)	11 (55)	14 (279)	13 (279)	26 (204)	18 (483)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]32 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]39 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 7

Percentage of 426 White and 522 Black Professors Who are High PAIR With White Students by SES, Age, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up in the South	Grew up Outside South		All Regions			
				low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
Whites							
Age under 30	0 (4)[a]	0 (30)		0 (3)	0 (10)	0 (21)	0 (34)
30-40	26 (19)	4 (118)		3 (33)	7 (45)	10 (59)	7 (137)
40-50	0 (7)	5 (103)		0 (36)	3 (33)	10 (41)	5 (110)
over 50	0 (9)	5 (103)		8 (24)	3 (40)	4 (48)	5 (112)[b]
			Total	3 (96)	4 (128)	7 (169)	5 (393)
SES low	0 (6)	3 (90)					
med	7 (15)	4 (113)					
high	22 (18)	5 (151)					
Total	13 (39)	4 (354)					

Table 7--Continued

Grew Up in the South		Grew up Outside South		All Regions low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
Blacks							
Age under 30	30 (40)	20 (35)		39 (39)	29 (14)	0 (22)	25 (75)
30-40	26 (77)	18 (120)		30 (90)	5 (77)	33 (30)	20 (197)
40-50	20 (65)	6 (94)		32 (54)	3 (63)	0 (42)	22 (159)
over 50	16 (31)	15 (33)		29 (21)	9 (23)	10 (20)	16 (64)
			Total	32 (204)	7 (177)	11 (114)	18 (495)[c]
SES low	40 (83)	27 (121)					
med	10 (79)	4 (98)					
high	18 (51)	5 (63)					
Total	24 (213)	14 (282)					

[a]Base N for percents.

[b]33 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]27 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 8

Percentage of 426 White and 522 Black Professors Who are High PAIR With White Students by Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
Whites									
High	12 (22)[a]	0 (2)	18 (24)	0 (9)	33 (3)	8 (12)	13 (31)	20 (5)	14 (36)
Non-high	4 (167)	2 (51)	3 (218)	6 (90)	4 (69)	5 (159)	4 (257)	3 (120)	4 (377)
Total	5 (189)	2 (53)	5 (242)	5 (99)	6 (72)	5 (171)	5 (288)	4 (125)	5 (413)[b]
Blacks									
High	6 (36)	--	6 (36)	14 (22)	18 (17)	15 (39)	9 (58)	18 (17)	11 (75)
Non-high	22 (77)	8 (37)	18 (114)	10 (106)	25 (208)	20 (314)	15 (183)	22 (245)	19 (428)
Total	17 (113)	8 (37)	15 (150)	11 (128)	24 (225)	19 (353)	14 (241)	22 (262)	18 (503)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]13 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]19 missing cases due to blanks.

CHAPTER III

A Multivariate Approach to Race Relations: Part III--Professors in Integrated Colleges and The Working Class

By David M. Rafky

1.1 Introduction

This is part III of a three part paper on race relations among faculty members in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities. The focus in on 554 black and 442 white professors' perception of awkward interpersonal relations (PAIR) in their encounters with members of the working class. Section 2 considers encounters with the black working class and section 3 deals with confrontations with working class whites. In addition to a content analysis of the statements made by the black and white professors, a multivariate procedure is used to relate a series of control or independent variables to PAIR with the working class.

2.1 PAIR With Working Class Blacks

White professors are more than twice as likely as black professors to report that they rarely encounter working class blacks (30 percent and 14 percent in Table 1); these whites and blacks are excluded from the analysis which follows.

One interesting comment made by a white professor in this category is reproduced below:

> I answer this question with hesitance, because I seldom have contact with this group in my present virtually all-white situation. However, I should say that I have done anthropological research in a predominantly black country, British Honduras. In this situation, my relations with "working class Negroes" were intense and often close. They were my next door neighbors and we (my wife and I) interacted with them in a non-self-conscious unstrained fashion.

The gamma and means in Table 2 indicate a slight relationship between race and PAIR with working class blacks; black faculty are slightly less likely than white faculty to feel awkward with working class blacks. The relationship persists for all regions and campus sizes; it is strong for faculty in the eastern states, in smaller (less than 2,500 students) schools, and in publically controlled institutions. The relationship is particularly strong for faculty in the humanities, in the lower (less than assistant professor) ranks, and administrators; it is moderate for faculty in the social sciences. Black professors in education and the natural sciences are <u>more</u> likely than whites in these fields to feel awkward with members of the black working class.

In Tables 2, 3, and 4, the percentage of respondents who agree strongly or slightly with the statement measuring PAIR are classified by several variables simultaneously.

Table 3 categorizes black and white professors by region of origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. The relationship between race and PAIR persists for all levels of the control variables. Among the whites, women are more likely than men to feel awkward with working class blacks. White women who grew up outside the South are particularly likely to report high PAIR with working class blacks. In addition, whites of both sexes who were raised outside the South are more likely than whites who grew up in the South to be high PAIR. Blacks who attended black colleges are more likely than blacks who attended white colleges to feel awkward with working class blacks; this pattern is particularly strong among blacks who grew up in the South. The effects of region on the dependent variable depend on race of college attended. That is, among blacks who attended black colleges, faculty members from the South are higher on PAIR than those from outside the South; among blacks who attended white colleges, faculty from outside the South are higher on PAIR than those who grew up in the South. High PAIR is especially likely for a black woman who attended a black college and grew up in the South.

The right side of Table 3 classifies black and white professors by age and SES simultaneously. The left side presents only the marginals for each region, since the cell

N's are too low for reliable percentaging. Generally, the relationship between race and PAIR is maintained when age and SES are controlled simultaneously. Among lower SES faculty members who are over 40 years of age, however, blacks are much more likely than whites to feel awkward with working class blacks. The relationship between race and PAIR with working class blacks is maintained for faculty members who grew up outside the South, regardless of age or SES. Among faculty who grew up in the South, blacks are slightly more likely than whites to feel awkward with working class blacks, for most categories of age and SES.

A comparison of percentage differences between columns and rows shows that for the white professors age is a better predictor of the dependent variable than is SES or region. For the age categories, the marginals range from 16 percent to 50 percent (a difference of 34 percent) while the difference attributable to SES is 16 percent (29 percent-13 percent) and the difference attributable to region is 7 percent (25 percent - 17 percent). Generally, younger whites are the highest on PAIR with working class blacks. Upper SES whites tend to be high on PAIR, regardless of age, but this relationship is weak for the few whites who grew up in the South. Generally, whites who come from the South are lower on PAIR than whites who grew up outside the South.

For the whites there is a strong negative association between age and PAIR, but for the blacks the relationship is positive and weak. Older blacks tend to be higher on PAIR than younger blacks (a difference of 20 percent). In addition, upper SES blacks are more likely than lower and moderate SES blacks to report awkwardness with black workers. High PAIR with working class blacks is especially likely for blacks over 50 years old who grew up in the South. Blacks raised in the South are also generally more likely than blacks who grew up outside the South to report high PAIR.

Table 4 classifies the white and black professors by highest earned degree, tenure, and quality of employing school. In general, blacks are less likely than whites to feel awkward with working class blacks. Among tenured and untenured professors who have doctorates and are employed in lower quality schools, however, blacks are <u>more</u> likely than whites to report high PAIR with working class blacks. Among the whites, teachers in lower quality schools are more likely to be high PAIR than those in higher quality schools. Generally, whites who are untenured are more likely than whites who are tenured to report high PAIR. High PAIR with working class blacks is especially likely when a white faculty member is untenured, does not hold the doctorate, and teaches in a lower quality school.

Black professors with the doctorate are more likely than those who do not have the doctorate to feel awkward with working class blacks. High PAIR is especially likely when black faculty members are in high quality schools and hold the doctorate, whether or not they are tenured.

Tables 1-4 about here

2.2 PAIR With Working Class Blacks: Described by Black Professors

Of the six items in the PAIR instrument, PAIR with working class blacks elicited the fewest comments or descriptions of "incidents." More than 80 percent of the black professors report no difficulty in relating to working class blacks. One faculty member works "with this group in a part-time teaching-student situation," and has been "requested as a teacher by them." For some blacks, in fact, this group represents a special kind of personally supportive group for me."

The additional comments, however, indicate some degree of tension between black professors and working class blacks. Resentment stems from black workers' jealousy of the success of black professionals and, just as often, from the different life-styles of the two groups:

Working class brothers also seem resentful of black professionals; however, communication with the black working class is easier than with the white working class.

There even exists a certain degree of jealousy of working class Negroes for middle class Negro teachers.

In regard to working class blacks, I found last year in California that my language and manner were regarded suspiciously. They were not readily accepting of this or of me being one of them.

I am a member of a church which has a large number of working class Negroes. They are polite and friendly, but I get the feeling that they do not consider me one of their "in group" in social matters.

The moment it is learned that my profession is assistant professor, the response is "Oh?"

2.3 PAIR With Working Class Blacks: Described by White Professors

Of those white faculty members who have contact with working class blacks, many report no strain. For example: "We have Negro housekeepers who care for our children"; "I chat with the dormitory cleaning maids about their personal cares and worries"; "I am on good terms with the local garbage man whom often helps empty my garbage"; "I have coffee every day with my friend, the Negro janitor in my building"; and, "I had an excellent relationship with my hired field crew in archeological field work in the South." Below are several more lengthy comments:

When we lived in Detroit we lived in an area which became 50 to 75 percent Negro. We moved into this area knowing this would happen. During this time, we became very friendly with several Negro family groups, those with children our son's age and others. We still maintain contact with these friends. Most of these families were "working," not professional people. At that time (1957-60) we shared the same concerns about the schools, crime, etc. Now, sad to say, we live in an all-white neighborhood, but we do have Negro students and members of other minority groups in our home.

During the four years I lived in New York, the superintendent of my building was a Negro. He and his family are very dear friends. I was a frequent visitor in their home. It was not uncommon for me to spend the night there. A year ago last December, when I visited New York, I had dinner with them Christmas Eve and spent the entire night in their home.

I met and had a long friendly talk with a Negro janitor in a bar one evening. We were about the same age and sitting next to each other. We found the "generation gap" was common to both of us.

Some white professors feel awkward when working class blacks act deferentially (first two statements below) while others feel that working class blacks are not deferential enough (third statement below):

Members of the community action committee of which I am a member sometimes are deferential, which is disturbing to me.

I have no problem with working class whites, probably due to the fact that I was a worker and have developed an empathy for them. I have reservations with Negro workers, since many of them assume an inferior position without realizing that most whites treat them as individuals.

> I have been subjected on occasion to a kind of inverted snobbery. For instance: "You educated--with a sneer--people."

White faculty members who experience awkwardness with working class blacks most often mention feeling "guilty when directing" cleaning ladies and others performing services. One experiences "a general diffuse sense of obligation, and I suppose, some sense of wanting to help while feeling the dead weight of the past decades." These whites "feel that [working class blacks] often feel I am talking down to them" and so dislike "giving them orders"; as a result, they often help with the work itself:

> When I run into a poor uneducated person I do not know how to treat them so as not to hurt their feelings. I can't describe any incident worth the words, but in general I find that I'm not able to make them understand my point of view or way of doing things. They suffer me silently as I do suffer them silently.
>
> It bothers me to have anyone working for me who is what society would consider to be in a subservient position. Therefore, I am not in a relaxed relationship with the woman who cleans my house. I find it difficult to give her orders.
>
> Actually, I feel guilty as a privileged member of the white race and when a black woman cleans at the house, I bend over backwards to try and compensate for this.
>
> I have a Negro cleaning lady with whom I feel absolutely no strain except when I ask her to change her routine and do an additional or different chore. I sense a reluctance on her part to alter her routine. I do not feel that I ask

> her to do too much. She is always given the opportunity of substituting the additional chore for one that is not so urgent.

Some whites report "problems understanding black militant" workers. For example:

> During the New York City school strike I worked with a group of parents, mostly black, to keep the local elementary school my son attends open. Differences in class and education tended to inhibit relationships. In addition, my own lack of sympathy for the ideological chatter of some, though by no means the majority of the blacks involved, tended to produce strain.

Finally, a minority of the white professors feel less awkward among working class blacks than with working class whites:

> In the role of nurse-teacher, I come in contact with representatives of all social levels, of all races, and cultural backgrounds. I do not feel any different when encountering black or white--if anything, more warmth toward the working class Negro than the "poor whites."

3.1 PAIR With Working Class Whites

Almost one-third of the black professors compared to only 7 percent of the white professors (Table 5) report that they rarely encounter working class whites, and so are excluded from the analyses. The percentage distribution in Table 5 and the comments in the following section indicate that black avoidance of working class whites is related to the intense feelings of awkwardness experienced in their encounters.

The gamma and means in Table 5 measure a strong relationship between race and PAIR with working class whites; black faculty are much more likely than white faculty to feel awkward with members of the white working class. The relationship remains strong for all regions, campus sizes (it is stronger for faculty in smaller schools), and types of institutions. The relationship is also maintained for all ranks and fields; it is strongest for faculty in education and for full professors and administrators.

In Tables 6, 7, and 8, the percentage of respondents who agree strongly or slightly with the statement measuring PAIR are classified by several variables simultaneously. Table 6 categorizes black and white professors by region of origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. The relationship between race and PAIR is maintained for all levels of the control variables. Among the whites, women are more likely than the men to feel awkward with working class whites. Region of origin appears to have very little effect on PAIR.

Among the black faculty members, region of origin, sex, and race of college attended have only slight effects on the dependent variable. For blacks who grew up in the South, women are slightly more likely than men to feel awkward with working class whites.

The right side of Table 7 classifies the respondents by race, age, and SES simultaneously. The left side presents only the column and row totals for each region, since the cell N's are too low for reliable percentaging. The relationship between race and PAIR with working class whites is maintained for all levels of the control variables. Among the whites, the younger and upper SES faculty members are highest on PAIR. By comparing the percentage differences between columns and rows in the upper right hand portion of Table 7, it can be seen that age and SES are equally good predictors of PAIR with working class whites. For the SES categories, the marginals range from 8 percent to 24 percent (a difference of 16 percent) while the difference attributable to age is 15 percent (27 percent to 12 percent). This pattern is particularly striking among whites who grew up outside the South, and less defined for those raised in the South.

For the blacks age is a much better predictor of PAIR than is SES. The percentage difference for age is 38 percent, while that for SES if 14 percent. Younger blacks tend to feel awkward with working class whites, regardless of their region of origin or SES. High SES blacks who grew up in the South tend to be high on PAIR, as do low SES blacks who grew up outside the South.

Table 9 classifies the respondents by race, highest degree, tenure and quality of employing school. The relationship between race and PAIR with working class whites is maintained for each level of the control variables. The relationship is particularly strong for professors who do not hold the doctorate. Perception of awkwardness with working class whites is especially likely for untenured white faculty members who hold the doctorate and are employed in lower quality schools.

Untenured blacks are more likely than tenured blacks to feel awkward with working class whites, regardless of their highest degree or quality of employing school. Similarly, blacks who are in higher quality schools are more likely than their black colleagues in lower quality schools to report high PAIR, for each level of the other two control variables. Highest degree is related to the dependent variable for the blacks who grew up in the South. For professors in this category, those with the doctorate are more likely than those holding lower degrees to feel awkward in the presence of working class whites. High PAIR is especially likely for a tenured white who holds the doctorate and is employed in a high quality school.

Tables 5-8 about here

3.2 PAIR With Working Class Whites: Described By Black Professors

Less than one-half of the black professors reported "smooth," "relaxed," or "close" relations with working class whites:

> As a former working class black man, I am aware of the concerns and uncertainties they have to cope with daily.
>
> I work very closely with working class whites when teaching in a special program for expectant parents.

The majority of the black professors, however, report that relations with working class whites are awkward. The respondents believe that working class whites resent "black success":

> At times my education seems to cause working class whites to feel both inferior and superior--a contradiction leading to awkwardness.
>
> Relations with working class whites are very awkward and strained especially for Negroes in a position of authority or who have made a success of their lives. They seem to detest Negroes who may "have more than they do."
>
> On more than one occasion I have been given reason to believe that a substantial segment of working class whites begrudges blacks who achieve more success than they do. The foregoing statement expresses my sentiments about the community in which I presently reside. No attempt is made, on my part, to generalize to other communities.

Many of the black professors feel awkward with working class whites who are performing services for them. These faculty members agree with one respondent who stated: "They all tend to assume that a Negro, no matter how well trained, is a dummy; this bugs me no end." The following statements reveal the many denigrating ways in which working class whites respond to black professors--some patronize them, others are excessively formal or informal, and some simply ignore them:

> I recently attended a meeting of a professional committee in another town. The waitress in the hotel where I had breakfast was very clear in the difference in the treatment afforded me and the whites with whom I was sitting. She had difficulty asking what I wanted or whether I wanted more coffee. She simply presented herself and stood. With my colleagues, she was outgoing and appeared friendly. For my part, I was tempted to simply wait until she addressed me, but after a strained minute, I asked if she was ready to take my order. She nodded.
>
> I went to get my car fixed and the white garage guy was talking to a lady and I felt awkward, not being able to interrupt the conversation or draw attention to my presence. He finally directed his attention to me, but I got "on the humble" to elicit his interest in my car. I always feel that most working class whites are pro-Wallacties and that they are more prone to give you trouble in face-to-face encounters these days.
>
> Most of the encounters I have with people of the described category here seems to come when I encounter them as they are performing services for me or have attempted to sell me a bill of

goods. For example, I moved into a duplex apartment in August, 1967, which was in a predominantly white neighborhood. The services by the manager went down after most of the white families moved out and I have had a running battle with him for the past year to see that the services are maintained at what I know they were before. Recently, he tried to belittle me by telling me that only M.D.'s deserve to be called "doctor" and that I was just another ordinary colored man where he is concerned. Who do I think I am making demands?

To a clerk in a paint shop, I look like another faculty wife. We in fact do not resemble each other and it's obvious that to the clerk "they all look the same."

My encounters as a black person with working class whites are slightly awkward particularly if the white person is encountered in a situation where I am, at first, seen as just another black person who can be ignored or deprecated. As a defense against this situation, I find that I usually avoid encounters with working class whites except in situations where my prestige (professional identity) or my buying power establishes me as a person who will not accept or tolerate deprecation. It is probably true that I avoid as many of these encounters as I can. Otherwise, I am usually guarded and careful not to put myself in a position where I cannot control my relationships.

Most working class whites who do not know that I teach at this college usually become ill-at-ease when they discover it. The fact, I assume, that I represent that segment of society known to not have the "basic" skills causes this uneasiness when it is revealed that I am "Dr." The future contacts reflect this by their over polite manners and their saying, "How wonderful it is to have a college education, especially for you."

Working class whites do not wish to grant status recognition to Negroes of the same status as

whites. Some persist in "boy" and "Doc" rather than the more conventional address.

Many of the black professors mentioned George Wallace in their remarks about working class whites. For some, "Wallacites" and working class whites are identical:

> Certain groups of working class whites are associated with Wallace in my mind and I cannot communicate with them.

Besides the deprecation of working class whites, some black faculty members fear violence at their hands:

> Three custodians, in response to seeing me in the company of white females, described in a context of thinly veiled enmity a castration which was alleged to have occured in a local bar.

A black professor of architecture half-jokingly explains:

> I'm going on a big construction job as an architect for the first time for thrills, like falling bricks, plaster and Wallace buttons.

Some of the black professors report that they are not ill-at-east with working class whites, but they they sense uneasiness in the whites:

> They don't quite understand me.
>
> The awkwardness is on their part, not mine.
>
> When I speak to the PTA, church groups and similar groups, audiences seem to be strained.

While part of the awkwardness of working class whites is attributed to their contempt for successful blacks, some of it is believed to result from the stance taken by faculty members

on social issues. One professor is certain that "my black power speeches cause anxiety." Others explain:

> Because of [working whites] inability to relate to the problems of the day, and my own impatience.
>
> With reference to working class whites, I found in a community meeting that they, for the most part, resented my progressive and critical views of social and governmental institutions.
>
> I fought like hell with Eric Hoffer last October at the Hearings of the National Commission on Violence.

4.1 Conclusion to Part III

This paper examined the perception of awkward interpersonal relations (PAIR) among professors in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities and members of the working class. In general, white faculty members are slightly more likely than black faculty to report strained or awkward confrontations with working class blacks. The relationship is particularly strong among faculty members in the social sciences and education, and among faculty below the rank of assistant professor. Blacks in education and the natural sciences are more likely than whites in these fields to feel awkward with members of the black working class. The relationship does not appear to be spurious. The likelihood of perceiving awkwardness with working class blacks was predicted from several variables taken one, two, and three at a

time. PAIR with working class blacks was shown to be especially likely when a white faculty member:

--is male
--is moderate or upper SES and is under 30 years of age
--is under 30 years of age and grew up outside the South
--is untenured and is employed in a lower quality school

PAIR with working class blacks was shown to be particularly likely when a black faculty member:

--attended a black college, grew up in the South, and is a woman
--is high SES and over 30 years of age
--grew up in the South and is over 50 years of age
--grew up in the South and is high SES
--is untenured, holds the doctorate and is in a high quality school
--is tenured, holds the doctorate, and is in a high quality school

For black professors the following issues are problematic in their relations with working class blacks:

--jealousy by working class blacks of the success of black professionals
--cultural differences

For the white professors, the following issues are problematic in their relations with working class blacks:

--blacks are too deferential
--blacks are not deferential enough
--whites feel guilty directing blacks performing services
--difficulty understanding black militants

In general, blacks are much more likely than whites to report strained or awkward confrontations with working class whites; this is especially true of faculty in small

schools, in the humanities and education, and full professors. The relationship does not appear to be spurious. PAIR with white members of the white working class was shown to be especially likely when a white faculty member:

--is male
--is high SES and under 30 years of age
--is high SES and grew up outside the South
--is untenured, holds the doctorate and is employed in a lower quality school

PAIR with working class whites was shown to be particularly likely when a black faculty member:

--grew up in the South, is male, and attended a white college
--grew up in the South, is female, and attended a white college
--is under 40 years of age and is low SES
--grew up outside the South and is middle aged (between 30 and 50)
--grew up outside the South and is low SES
--grew up in the South and is high SES
--is untenured and is employed in a high quality school

For black professors, the following issues are problematic in their relations with working class whites:

--working class whites resent black success
--whites treat blacks in denigrating manner, with excessive or absent formality, avoidance, lack of tact
--identification of working class whites and Wallace supporters
--fear of violence

5.1 Conclusion to Parts I, II, and III

These papers are mainly descriptive; they present findings, mainly in tabular form, with a minimum of interpretation. The author has intentionally refrained from

proposing what some readers may believe to be obvious explanations and interpretations of the findings. There are two reasons for this. First, it is redundant (and often quite difficult) to verbalize what tables portray more clearly and concisely. Secondly, as a white, the author's explanation of the findings may be biased by his unconscious assumptions about race. That is, the author cannot separate himself from the general climate of racism that exists in the United States at this time, and so presents his data for black scholars to interpret in light of their experiences and understandings.

We will, however, make a few general comments. Although we found relationships between race and perception of awkward interpersonal relations, the absolute differences on the measures of PAIR were not great. For example, we found that black professors are more likely than white faculty members to feel that their encounters with white colleagues are strained or awkward. However, the means of 1.44 for the whites and 1.70 for the blacks are not widely divergent. In addition, by stressing the awkwardness of encounters, we have not focused attention on the fact that the majority of the white and black professors are not uptight. Although we found, for instance, a relationship

between race and PAIR with white colleagues, 67 percent of the whites and 54 percent of the blacks disagree strongly with the item affirming awkwardness with white colleagues, and approximately one-quarter of each group disagrees slightly with the item. We conclude with two statements, the first by a white professor of police administration and the second by a black professor born in South Africa:

> Relating one incident may be misleading as far as my answers are concerned. Let me explain my background. I am a chemist by training and have spent my entire career in forensic science . . . and over twenty years of teaching. I have lived in Viet Nam and Taiwan for 4 years and have travelled extensively around the world several times. I have been through psychoanalysis in depth to cure a speech defect. I am politically independent. I am a deacon (6 years) in the . . . Lutheran Church. My daughter is married to a Peruvian Roman Catholic and lives in Lima, Peru. My oldest son is in graduate school, fine arts, and is married to a lovely black girl. My wife teaches American Thought and Language at . . . State University and works a great deal with disadvantaged blacks from the . . . area. I have spent much time in the homes of black, yellow and brown people; also, they spend much time in my home. The people who have influenced my thinking most are Sigmund Freud and Frank Lloyd Wright. The latter's philosophy of life is one of the few good ones we've got kicking around today. This brief biographical sketch is my answer to your question. My life, so far, has been just one small incident on the face of the earth.
>
> For most of my active life in South Africa, I belonged to the elites who tried to breach the color gap and got so immersed in thie role that they began to imagine themselves free of race consciousness. On arrival here where I did not have to play this role and given the hurts I have had, I find myself frightenly race conscious. My

present problem is what do I do with this phenomenon? Do I sweep it under the carpet? Do I demonstrate and dramatize it? Do I take it as a new reality about myself and live with it, careful that it does not hurt me or others? All of us in this age of awareness need some depth psychology in this area.

Table 1* (1) Percentage Distributions, Means, and Gamma of The Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors To Perception of Awkward Interpersonal Relations (PAIR) With Working Class Blacks; and, (2) Gamma for Race by PAIR for Each Level of Selected Control Variables

The Question	Response Categories and Weights
Sometimes in our face to face encounters we feel that the relationship is strained or awkward; we or the other person feels ill-at-ease. Encounters between myself and working class whites are strained or awkward.	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree slightly 3 = Agree slightly 4 = Agree strongly x = Can't say, because I rarely encounter them.

Race	Percent Responding 1	2	3	4	n	Mean	Gamma	n_x	Total N ($n+n_x$)	n_x/Total N (in percent)
White	50	27	21	2	311	1.76	-.157	131	442	30
Black	59	22	17	2	478	1.61		76	554	14

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Location of employing school	eastern states[a]	-.440
	north central states[b]	-.200
	western states	-.190
Number of students on campus	less than 1,000	-.360
	1,000-2,500	-.295
	2,500-9,000	-.140
	more than 9,000	-.135
Type of employing institution	public	-.256
	private	-.039
Field	social sciences	-.341
	physical and biological sciences	.275
	humanities and languages	-.636
	education	.258
	other fields (e.g., library science)	-.294

*Table continued on following page.

Table 1--continued

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Rank	less than assistant professor	-.740
	assistant professor	-.185
	associate professor	-.019
	professor	-.075
	administrator	-.421
	any professional rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	-.001

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 2 Percentage of 311 White and 478 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With Working Class Blacks By Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up In South			Grew Up Outside of South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
Whites									
Male	22(27)[a]	--	22(27)	27(205)	0(3)	26(208)	26(232)	0(3)	26(235)
Female	0(10)	--	0(10)	18(45)	--	18(45)	15(55)	--	15(55)
Total	16(37)	--	16(37)	25(250)	0(3)	25(253)	24(287)	0(3)	24(290)[b]
Blacks									
Male	9(34)	20(98)	17(132)	16(151)	17(42)	16(193)	15(185)	19(140)	17(325)
Female	0(12)	24(42)	19(54)	9(44)	19(16)	12(60)	7(56)	22(58)	15(114)
Total	7(46)	21(140)	18(186)	15(195)	17(58)	15(253)	13(241)	20(198)	16(439)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 21 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 39 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 3 Percentage of 311 White and 478 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With Working Class Blacks by SES, Age, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

Whites

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	0(3)[a]	Age under 30	57(23)
30-40	29(17)	30-40	26(73)
40-50	11(9)	40-50	16(80)
over 50	0(7)	over 50	23(77)
SES low	20(5)	SES low	12(57)
med	18(11)	med	31(85)
high	15(20)	high	27(111)
Total South	17(36)	Total Non-South	25(253)

All Regions

	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	0(2)	60(10)	50(14)	50(26)
30-40	31(16)	33(27)	21(47)	27(90)
40-50	7(29)	30(27)	12(33)	16(89)
over 50	7(15)	17(32)	32(37)	21(84)
Total	13(62)	29(96)	25(131)	24(289)[b]

Blacks

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	8(37)	Age under 30	0(30)
30-40	18(71)	30-40	19(113)
40-50	17(60)	40-50	18(80)
over 50	44(27)	over 50	9(33)
SES low	22(81)	SES low	9(110)
med	12(73)	med	17(94)
high	27(41)	high	23(52)
Total South	20(195)	Total Non-South	15(256)

All Regions

	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	10(30)	0(15)	0(22)	5(67)
30-40	13(86)	20(71)	33(27)	19(184)
40-50	17(54)	9(58)	36(28)	17(140)
over 50	24(21)	26(23)	25(16)	25(60)
Total	15(191)	15(167)	25(93)	17(451)[c]

[a] Base N for percents.

[b] 22 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 27 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 4 Percentage of 311 White and 478 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With Working Class Blacks By Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				Whites					
High	15(20)[a]	0(2)	14(22)	0(5)	0(3)	0(8)	12(25)	0(5)	10(30)
Non-high	24(130)	16(32)	22(162)	29(56)	29(53)	28(109)	25(186)	24(85)	25(271)
Total	23(150)	15(34)	21(184)	26(61)	27(56)	27(117)	24(211)	22(90)	23(301)[b]
				Blacks					
High	34(32)	--	34(32)	36(25)	18(17)	29(42)	35(57)	18(17)	31(74)
Non-high	19(62)	9(35)	16(97)	20(104)	15(184)	17(288)	20(166)	14(219)	16(385)
Total	25(94)	9(35)	20(129)	23(129)	15(201)	18(330)	24(223)	14(236)	19(459)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 10 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 18 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 5* (1) Percentage Distributions, Means, And Gamma of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors to Perception of Awkward Interpersonal Relations (PAIR) With Working Class Whites; and, (2) Gamma For Race By PAIR For Each Level of Selected Control Variables

The Question	Response Categories and Weights
Sometimes in our face to face encounters we feel that the relationship is strained or awkward; we or the other person feels ill-at-ease. Encounters between myself and working class whites are strained or awkward..	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree slightly 3 = Agree slightly 4 = Agree strongly x = Can't say, because I rarely encounter them.

	Percent Responding									
Race	1	2	3	4	n	Mean	Gamma	n_x	Total N ($n+n_x$)	n_x/Total N (in percent)
White	62	22	14	2	411	1.56	.649	31	442	7
Black	26	17	32	25	401	2.55		153	554	28

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Location of employing school	eastern states[a]	.578
	north central states[b]	.693
	western states[c]	.598
Number of students on campus	less than 1,000	.790
	1,000-2,500	.649
	2,500-9,000	.535
	more than 9,000	.541
Type of employing institution	public	.560
	private	.754
Field	social sciences	.451
	physical and biological sciences	.592
	humanities and languages	.658
	education	.675
	other fields (e.g., library science)	.590

*Table continued on following page.

Table 5--continued

Control Variable	Level	Gamma
Rank	less than assistant professor	.449
	assistant professor	.595
	associate professor	.788
	professor	.803
	administrator	.799
	any professional rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	.578

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 6 Percentage of 411 White and 401 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With Working Class Whites By Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up In South			Grew Up Outside of South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
				Whites					
Male	19(31)[a]	--	19(31)	19(278)	0(3)	19(281)	19(309)	0(3)	19(312)
Female	10(10)	--	10(10)	7(61)	--	7(61)	7(71)	--	7(71)
Total	17(41)	--	17(41)	17(342)	0(3)	17(342)	17(380)	0(3)	17(383)[b]
				Blacks					
Male	64(36)	55(69)	58(105)	59(138)	55(42)	58(180)	60(174)	55(111)	58(285)
Female	100(3)	64(33)	67(36)	56(34)	71(7)	59(41)	60(37)	65(40)	62(77)
Total	68(39)	58(102)	60(141)	58(172)	57(49)	58(221)	60(211)	58(151)	59(362)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 28 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 39 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 7 Percentage of 411 White and 401 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With Working Class Whites By SES, Age, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

Whites

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	0(4)[a]	Age under 30	31(29)
30-40	32(19)	30-40	19(110)
40-50	11(9)	40-50	12(98)
over 50	0(8)	over 50	14(105)
SES low	17(6)	SES low	7(85)
med	21(14)	med	13(113)
high	15(20)	high	25(144)
Total South	18(40)	Total Non-South	17(342)

All Regions

	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	0(3)	0(10)	45(20)	27(33)
30-40	13(30)	27(41)	21(58)	21(129)
40-50	9(34)	16(32)	12(41)	12(107)
over 50	0(24)	5(44)	29(45)	13(113)
Total	8(91)	14(127)	24(164)	17(382)[b]

Blacks

Grew Up In The South		Grew Up Outside South	
Age under 30	100(23)	Age under 30	35(26)
30-40	66(53)	30-40	73(104)
40-50	43(53)	40-50	50(70)
over 50	33(21)	over 50	33(24)
SES low	61(70)	SES low	65(105)
med	46(52)	med	51(76)
high	75(28)	high	49(43)
Total South	49(150	Total Non-South	57(224)

All Regions

	low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
under 30	64(28)	78(9)	58(12)	63(49)
30-40	77(84)	54(56)	78(27)	71(157)
40-50	51(47)	48(56)	32(20)	47(123)
over 50	25(16)	24(17)	58(12)	33(45)
Total	63(175)	49(128)	59(71)	59(374)[c]

[a] Base N for percents.

[b] 29 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 25 missing cases due to blanks.

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Table 8 Percentage of 411 White and 401 Black Professors Who Are High PAIR With Working Class Whites By Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				Whites					
High	14(21)[a]	0(2)	13(23)	0(8)	0(3)	0(11)	10(29)	0(5)	9(34)
Non-high	11(165)	6(51)	10(216)	44(79)	19(69)	27(148)	18(244)	13(120)	17(364)
Total	11(186)	6(53)	10(239)	31(87)	18(72)	25(159)	18(273)	13(125)	16(398)[b]
				Blacks					
High	69(19)	--	68(19)	81(16)	82(17)	81(33)	74(35)	82(17)	77(52)
Non-high	44(50)	38(34)	42(84)	60(89)	58(163)	59(252)	54(139)	55(197)	55(336)
Total	51(69)	38(34)	47(103)	63(105)	61(180)	61(285)	58(174)	57(214)	51(388)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 13 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 13 missing cases due to blanks.

CHAPTER IV

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS: JOKING, FORMAL, AND AVOIDANCE RELATIONS AMONG BLACK AND WHITE COLLEGE PROFESSORS

PART I: ZERO ORDER AND PARTIAL CORRELATIONS[1]

By David M. Rafky

1.1 Introduction

The assassination of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., spurred many "traditionally closed," predominantly white colleges and universities to recruit black faculty. The perceptions and experiences of these black scholars are of special interest to scholars of race relations, educational policy, and the anthropology of education. An analysis of the interpersonal problems faced by black professors in white institutions may help smooth the path of other blacks to these schools and shed light on the dynamics of race relations. This paper focuses on the social costs of working in an integrated and possibly hostile environment. Part I examines the association between a series of variables and joking, formality, and avoidance among black and white professors in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities. Part II considers correlates of joking, formal and avoidance relations for blacks and whites.

2.1 Samples and Sampling Procedures

In 1969, a largely pre-coded questionnaire was mailed to 699 white and 699 black faculty members in predominantly white colleges and universities outside the South. Seventy-nine percent (554) of the blacks responded, compared to 63 percent (442) of the whites.

Rosters of black professors were solicited from the provosts, presidents, deans, and selected department chairmen of all four year, degree granting, predominantly white, non-southern institutions with more than 300 students.[2] In addition, prominent black scholars and organizations (such as the Metropolitan Applied Research Center headed by Dr. Kenneth Clark) supplied the names of blacks at schools which refused (declined) to cooperate in the survey. The sample of 699 blacks may include as much as 75 to 90 percent of the target population. In 1968, A. Gilbert Belles conducted a survey for the Southern Education Reporting Service which sought to determine how many blacks were teaching in predominantly white four year institutions. The sampled schools claimed to employ 785 black professors, but did not supply their names or other corroborating evidence. One administrator "listed 208 'professional employees' but did not indicate how many of

of them were teaching faculty" (Belles, 1968, p. 25). Belles cautions that the total of 785 may therefore be inflated.

A comparison group of 699 whites was selected from 300 available college and university bulletins. The two groups were matched on academic field, size, location, and control--public or private--of employing institution. Since a substantial proportion of black faculty are women, an unsystematic attempt was made to match the two groups on sex. This was not successful; 28 percent of the black respondents are women compared to 18 percent of the whites.

2.2 Hypotheses

Prejudice and status dilemma impose divergent interests on black and white faculty members and separate them in the social structure. Prejudice toward black professors *qua* blacks results in "socially imposed handicaps peculiar to lower caste . . . discrimination in employment, segregation in housing, and all other stigmata" (Allport, 1958, p. 304). Low racial status guarantees less than full access to the rights, privileges, and rewards available in American society. The black professor as a black *and* a professor occupies contradictory statuses in which the

"powerful" attributes of race and professional standing "clash," resulting in status dilemma:

> Membership in the Negro race, as defined in American mores and/or law, may be called a master status-determining trait. It tends to overpower, in most crucial situations, any other characteristics which might run counter to it. But professional standing is also a powerful characteristic--most so in the specific relationships of professional practice, less so in the general intercourse of people. In the person of the professionally qualified Negro these two powerful characteristics clash (Hughes, 1958, p. 111).

Prejudice and status dilemma lead to a social disjunction which is not mitigated by the joint participation of blacks and whites in a common institutional setting. Social conjunction, however, results from the cooperation necessary between black and white professors if they are to realize their shared (educational) institutional and personal goals. Radcliffe-Brown (1952, p. 92) asks:

> Social disjunction implies a divergence of interests and therefore the possibility of conflict and hostility, while conjunction requires the avoidance of strife. How can a relation which combines the two be given a stable, ordered form?

Joking, formal, and avoidance relations are functional because conflict or hostility due to disjunctive interests is avoided; partners in the interaction are conjoined

by their alliance to adhere to a particular form of relationship.

Joking, which combines friendliness and antagonism, is a socially permitted form of disrespect and license which prevents the dissolution of potentially disruptive interactions:

> Any serious hostility is prevented by the playful antagonism of teasing, and this in its regular repetition is a constant expression or reminder of that social disjunction which is one of the essential components of the relation, while the social conjunction is maintained by the friendliness that takes no offence at an insult (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 92).

Ethnographies frequently report joking relations. Among the Ojibwa, for example, where cross-cousin marriage makes members of other clans potential relatives and thus potential adversaries, cross-cousins typically "joke one another" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 93). Joking characterizes interactions between a man, his wife's sisters and their daughters among the Dogon; among the Tonga, grandparents joke with their grandchildren, and in-laws of the same generation joke with each other. Gluckman (1965, p. 97) describes some of these encounters:

> Most of these involve pleasantries with sexual innuendoes, and, save between grandparents and grandchildren, some horseplay and 'petting.' The grandparents may, as among the Lozi, joke to their grandchildren: 'You are my wife;' 'My wife, get the water for me.' In addition, members of certain paired-clans are allowed--indeed required--to joke with and abuse one another.

Some of the more biting jokes are:

> 'Your mother is dead,' answered perhaps with, 'So is yours.'
>
> 'Your mother's brother is dead.'
>
> 'You are a sorcerer; you are killing people.'

Just as joking conjoins kin who are members of different clans, it also prevents open conflict between clans or other groups with divergent interests by emphasizing common values. Gluckman (1965, p. 101) points this out in his discussion of the Tonga clan-joking relationship:

> . . . it is connected with Tonga ideas about the fundamental values of human life and social existence. In Tongaland these ultimate moral values are connected with the enduring groups, the clans, in which membership is derived from the very process of being born to a mother--an obvious enough fact, but one basic to patrilineal as well as to matrilineal systems of kinship, since men can only produce heirs through their wives.

The fact that <u>both</u> the joker and the butt of the joke understand the joke indicates that they share a common

perspective and the desire to continue or save the interaction. One incident is reported in Harvard Business School's study of the Industrial Controls Corporation. White workers "kidded" black workers by calling them "niggers" in a "good natured way." Insofar as the black workers "took the joking, reciprocated somewhat, but did not show anger or hostility, they were acknowledging behavioristically their willingness to maintain the group or not cause trouble" (Zaleznik, et al., 1956, p. 377).

An alternative to the joking relationship of mutual disrespect and license is the formal relationship, in which participants are grave, reserved, restrained, and respectful. Formal interaction is characterized by adherence to precise and minute regulations of behavior. Formality and joking, although in some ways opposite modes of interaction, both serve to conjoin individuals and groups with divergent interests:

> The joking relationship is in some ways the exact opposite of a contractural relation. Instead of specific duties to be fulfilled there is privileged disrespect . . . and the only obligation is not to take offense at the disrespect so long as it is kept within certain bounds defined by custom. In a true contractural relationship the two parties are conjoined by a definite common interest in reference to which each of them accepts specific obligations. It makes no difference that

> in other matters their interests may be divergent. . . . The alliance by extreme respect . . . prevents such conflict but keeps the parties conjoined (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 103).

Formality prevents the dissolution of otherwise problematic confrontations by focusing interactions. This is seen, for example, in the interaction between black physicians and white patients. The white patient who has had no previous experience with a black physician may register surprise at this "unusual" combination of racial and occupational attributes; he lacks prescriptions for behavior vis-à-vis the black doctor. A ritualized and focused interchange saves the interaction and prevents its disruption. The patient who has learned the patient role is passive, follows orders, answers relevant questions, etc. The physician also acts in the manner prescribed by the medical role; he asks questions relevant only to the patient's medical history and maintains an attitude of aloofness and scientific disinterest. So long as patient and physician adhere to these rules, the interaction continues. Each participant is able to anticipate the behavior of the other and adjust his own behavior according to these expectations; there are no "surprises" and no embarrassments. The interaction is focused because only the white patient's

status qua patient and only the black physician's status qua physician is relevant to the definition of the situation; behaviors and interpretations associated with racial statuses are not permitted.

Avoidance, like formal and joking relations, conjoins groups or individuals with disparate interests; potential interactants are conjoined by their alliance to avoid each other. Beals and Hoijer describe how avoidance in the Chiricahua Apache kinship group "affirms the solidarity of the joint family and . . . regulates the social interactions of kin so as to provide for cooperation and harmony both within and between joint families":

> Males entering the joint family as husbands are required to avoid or maintain only the most formal relations with their wives' consanguine kin. The reason for this is evident: a woman, when married, leaves her parents' wickium and goes to live in another with her husband, but remains within the encampment of the joint family. Preoccupation with her husband and later with her children considerably alters her formerly intimate association with her parents and other consanguine kin within the joint family. This disruption, if unprovided for, may lead to trouble and a consequent loss of the husband, an economic asset to the joint family. To prevent potentially disruptive relations between a man and the affinal kin he is expected to live with and serve, Chiricahua culture strictly limits their social interactions and so helps to insure the harmony of the joint family (Beals and Hoijer, 1959, pp. 449-50).

The following description of behavior prescribed for a male Apache and his wife's immediate relatives, especially her parents, shows that avoidance is an elaboration of the formal relationship:

> Between a man and his affinal relatives, who live in the same joint family with him, there exists an even more formal relationship. This is expressed in two ways: by the so-called polite form and by total avoidance. The polite form requires that affinal kin be reserved and grave in each other's presence. . . . Both must avoid being put in an awkward or embarrassing position when together. . . . Total avoidance has all the implications of the polite form plus the obligation never to have face to face contact with the avoided relative (Beals and Hoijer, 1959, pp. 449-50).

The individual has greater control over his voluntary associations than his job-required and kinship relations, and so the former are more likely to be avoided as a result of prejudice and status dilemma. Professors, for example, cannot avoid such job-related gatherings as departmental parties and meetings of professional associations, even if they are experienced as unpleasant. In these situations, other modes of behavior, such as joking or formality guide the interaction. Furthermore, black professionals do not avoid voluntary contacts when there is something to be gained that compensates for real or anticipated social slights and rebuffs. Kramer (1954),

for example, reports that blacks in status dilemma due to membership in prestigious Protestant denominations (Presbyterian, Congregational, and Lutheran) do not avoid church services. Perhaps they gain some non-religious end by attending, such as making business contacts or raising their own social standing by associating with others of higher prestige in church. Kramer (1954) finds, however, that these blacks avoid social functions of their church: Sunday school programs, youth fellowships, and ladies' and mens' groups.

Socio-economic status (SES) confounds many studies of avoidance. Since middle class individuals tend to be more sensitive than members of the lower class to prejudice and status dilemma, members of the middle class who experience these frustrations are particularly likely to avoid voluntary associations (Afsaruddin, 1963). On the other hand, middle class people are generally more likely than members of lower SES groups to enter into voluntary associations. It is important, therefore, to demonstrate that the statistical dependence between avoidance and other variables is not an artifact of differences in SES and that the dependence is strongest for the middle class.

Two caveats must be made before the hypotheses are stated. First, avoidance, joking, and formality, are not necessarily signs of hostility and conflict; rather, these relationships prevent conflict which might otherwise result from prejudice and status ambiguity:

> This avoidance must not be taken for a sign of hostility. One does, of course, if one is wise, avoid having too much to do with one's enemies, but that is quite a different matter. I once asked an Australian native why he had to avoid his mother-in-law, and his reply was, 'Because she is my best friend in the world; she has given me my wife.' The mutual respect between son-in-law and parents-in-law is a mode of friendship. It prevents conflict that *might arise* through divergence of interest (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 92).

Secondly, although social isolation that results from avoidance is typically reported in case histories of certain psychoses (Jaco, 1964), self-imposed withdrawal from potentially unpleasant social transactions does not necessarily remove the individual from reality as it is expressed in social life. To the contrary, avoidance indicates sensitivity to one's own feelings and to the feelings of others (Goffman, 1957). This explains why, assuming that middle class people are, in general, hypersensitive to others, the statistical dependence between avoidance and

status ambiguity has been found by Afsaruddin (1963) to be stronger in the middle class than in the lower class.

In summary, the following assumptions are made:

1. Black professors are more likely than white professors to experience prejudice and status ambiguity.
2. Prejudice and status dilemma foster divergent interests among black and white professors.
3. Black and white professors must work together professionally for shared (educational) institutional and personal goals.
4. Joking, formal, and avoidance relations conjoin people with divergent interests.
5. Black professors in predominantly white colleges more often encounter whites professionally than whites are likely to encounter blacks professionally.
6. Avoidance of voluntary associations does not occur if the relationships are means to non-sociable ends.
7. Members of the middle class are more sensitive to the frustrations of prejudice and status dilemma than members of the lower classes.

It therefore follows:

Hyp. 1. Joking is more likely to characterize the interactions of black professors than those of white professors.

Hyp. 2. Formality is more likely to characterize the interactions of black professors than those of white professors.

Hyp. 3. Avoidance is more likely to characterize the interactions of black professors than those of white professors.

3a. The statistical dependence between race and avoidance holds only for voluntary relations that are means to sociable ends.

3b. The statistical dependence between race and avoidance is stronger for middle SES professors than for lower SES professors.

2.3 Statistical Procedures

Survey research cannot demonstrate that racial differences "cause" differences in joking, formality, and avoidance. Causality could be demonstrated only by an "ideal" experiment in which a control group "has been exposed to all the same stimuli as the experimental group, except the single one in which the experimenter is vitally

interested" (Hyman, 1955, p. 244). Instead, the survey researcher must "take his groups as he finds them." He may, however, approximate the "logic" of experimentation by the method of sub-group comparisons:

> This involves a comparison of the frequency with which groups <u>characterized</u> <u>in</u> <u>different ways</u> express a certain attitude or exhibit a particular characteristic. . . . In such comparisons, the analyst assumes the sub-groups which he has formulated approximate the experimental and control groups of an actual experiment, and that the characteristic which distinguishes the different groups approximates the experimental stimulus. . . . [Since the analyst] has no opportunity to control the composition of his 'experimental' and 'control' groups in advance, so as to be certain that they are ideally identical . . . there is always the danger that the relationships which the analyst finds in his survey data are spurious, that they arise out of initial differences between the groups being compared. . . . We [therefore] try to eradicate initial differences between the sub-groups which might produce spurious relationships. The analytical procedures for achieving this involve some manner of 'holding constant' or 'controlling' [these] possible invalidating factors (Hyman, 1955, pp. 245-47).

The observation that black professors are more likely than the comparison group of whites to engage in formal relations, for example, does not demonstrate that racial differences, <u>per se</u>, account for differences in formality. There are additional factors that differentiate the two groups, as

Table 1 indicates. For instance, the proportion of southerners is higher in the black sample than in the

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Table 1 about here

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white sample; this could account for differences in formality. That is: southerners in general (i.e., blacks and whites) emphasize formality, ritual and etiquette, and, since black professors tend to be from the South, the observed relationship between race and formality may be an artifact of the relationship between region of origin and formality.

To reduce the probability that the relationships between race and the dependent variables are spurious, nine initial differences between the white and black respondents are held constant simultaneously in a partial correlation procedure. Two measures of association are computed for the relationship between race and each dependent variable. Since the data are ordinal and the hypotheses predict monotonic relationships, the Goodman-Kruskal gamma (γ) statistic is used to indicate strength of association. In addition, the zero order point bi-serial correlation coefficient (r_{pbis}) is calculated; this is the traditional Pearson r in cases where one measure is dichotomous (race)

and the other is continuous. The interpretation of gamma is in some ways analogous to Pearson r. Each statistic takes on values between -1.000 (maximum or perfect negative association) and +1.000 (maximum or perfect positive association). A gamma or r of zero indicates lack of statistical dependence. A ninth order partial correlation coefficient ($r_{1,2...9}$) is computed for race with each dependent measure in which the following nine variables are controlled simultaneously: age, sex, SES, region of origin, racial mix of undergraduate college attended, highest earned degree, tenure, rank, and quality of employing school. If the zero order correlations (r_{pbis}) are not reduced substantially when the residuals of the regressions are correlated ($r_{1,2...9}$), we would feel confident, although not certain, that race and joking, formality, and avoidance are directly and causally related.

3.1 The Findings

The findings in Table 2, where the first two items are cross-tabulated by race, support Hypothesis 1. Black professors are more likely than whites to joke, especially about racial matters. The bivariate relations do not drop substantially when the effects of the nine control variables are partialed out.

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Table 2 about here

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The last four items in Table 2 measure preference for formal relations with colleagues and students. Blacks are more likely than whites to prefer a formal atmosphere in their relations with their colleagues. For one concrete measure of formality, preference for the use of one's academic title or "mister," blacks are especially likely to score higher than whites. The zero order correlations are not reduced by the partialing procedure. Both groups of faculty members, however, favor an informal atmosphere in their classrooms. Perhaps the motivation for this is pedagogical; substantial percentages of white and black professors may feel that informality in the classroom supports learning. If this is so, and if Hypothesis 2 is to be accepted, racial differences in student-faculty formality should be evident outside the classroom. The data in Table 2, where the last item is cross-tabulated by race, gives limited support to this interpretation. Black professors are more likely than whites to prefer that students use their academic title or "mister." The gamma of .106,

while not strong, is in the predicted direction and is maintained under the controls.

The findings in Table 3, where responses to various measures of avoidance are cross-tabulated by race, permit the testing of Hypothesis 3. The items are discussed in the order of their appearance in Table 3. We assume that membership in professional organizations is motivated primarily by academic and utilitarian considerations, rather than desire for sociable interactions. We therefore hypothesize that blacks do not avoid professional meetings even if they anticipate social slights and rebuffs. The findings do not support this expectation. Blacks are members of fewer professional organizations than whites. This does not indicate, however, that blacks join fewer professional associations in order to avoid rebuffs and awkward encounters. Other variables, such as racial differences in academic ranks, may explain these findings. If the assumption is correct, that motivation for participation in professional organizations is primarily utilitarian, it should be reflected in actual attendance and stated motives for attendance, rather than in nominal memberships. This is supported by the data in Table 3 which show no relationship between race and frequency of attendance at professional

meetings. The findings in Table 4 support the assumption that blacks are more likely than whites to attend professional meetings for non-sociable motives. We conclude that, although blacks may belong to fewer professional organizations than do whites, blacks attend meetings with about equal frequency and do not attend for motives of sociability. These findings are consistent with Hypothesis 3.

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Tables 3 and 4 about here

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If we assume that participation in civil rights groups is motivated primarily by the desire to improve one's position or the position of one's group rather than by sociable ends, it follows that blacks are more likely than whites to join and attend meetings of civil rights groups. This hypothesis is supported by the data in Table 3. The assumption that blacks are primarily motivated to join and participate in civil rights groups by non-sociable utilitarian motives is supported by the findings in Table 4. In addition, the following assumptions predict that the relationship between race and membership in civil rights groups is stronger for lower SES faculty members than for middle SES faculty members:

1) SES measures background status; 2) low SES black faculty members attempt to raise their status by joining civil rights groups; and, 3) middle SES blacks are not as likely to attempt to raise their status by joining civil rights groups since their status is already relatively high. The relative sizes of the gammas for middle and low SES faculty members are in the predicted direction.

We assume that participation in community organizations, such as Parent Teacher Associations and the Chamber of Commerce, enables blacks to raise their status either directly or indirectly: 1) community organizations directly raise the status of the black faculty member and blacks in general through various action programs designed to reallocate the rewards and privileges of society; and, 2) association with high status individuals who lead these organizations indirectly raises the status of the black members. It therefore follows that blacks are more likely than whites to join and participate in community organizations. This hypothesis is confirmed by the findings in Table 3. The assumption that blacks are motivated to join and participate in community organizations by non-sociable motives is supported by the findings in Table 4. In addition, if we assume that faculty members from lower SES

backgrounds have a greater need to raise their standing in the community than those from middle SES backgrounds, it follows that the relationship between race and participation in community organizations is stronger for lower SES than middle SES faculty members. This hypothesis is supported by the findings in Table 3.

It is not always possible for blacks who anticipate social slights and rebuffs to avoid voluntary relationships. For example, certain voluntary associations such as union membership may be required by the exigencies of their jobs. We assume that home visits with colleagues is tacitly required of academics. It therefore follows that blacks are as likely as whites to exchange home visits with white colleagues. The findings in Table 3 support this hypothesis. If we assume that lower SES blacks have a greater need to raise their status than middle SES blacks, and that this can be achieved partially through association with higher status white colleagues, it follows that the relationship between race and home visits with white colleagues is stronger for lower SES faculty than for middle SES faculty. The gammas in Table 3 are in the predicted direction. Since it is assumed that blacks are particularly likely to avoid integrated voluntary associations

that are likely to be awkward and that have no external imperatives, such as occupational requirements, it follows that blacks avoid home visits with non-colleague whites. The gamma of -.101 in Table 3 is not strong and offers limited support for the hypothesis. The weak relationship may be due to the fact that black professors have fewer potential friends in the black communities near their colleges. That is, schools that employ blacks may be in communities which have few intellectual or middle SES blacks. Since middle SES faculty members are assumed to be more sensitive than lower SES faculty to social slights and awkward encounters, it follows that the relationship between race and home visits with non-colleague whites is stronger for middle SES respondents. The gammas in Table 3 are in the predicted direction.

We assume that black faculty members are more likely to interact with other black scholars than with their white colleagues because: 1) blacks tend to be "pushed" toward each other since they are rejected by whites; and, 2) a mutual attraction or "pull" exists between black scholars who share similar interests and a common fate of status dilemma and prejudice. It therefore follows that blacks are more likely than whites to

exchange visits with black colleagues. The gamma in Table 3 is high, .789, and supports the hypothesis. The gamma remains high for middle and low SES faculty members, and r is maintained when the effects of the nine control variables are partialed out. The same reasoning leads to the prediction that blacks are more likely than whites to exchange visits with non-colleague blacks. The findings in Table 3 support this hypothesis.

Since blacks are both "pushed" and "pulled" into associating with one another, it therefore follows that they are more likely than whites to participate in predominantly black social organizations. The gamma of .960 in Table 3 supports the hypothesis and indicates an extremely strong relationship. The concluding hypotheses consider the relationship between race and membership in predominantly white social organizations, such as country clubs and fraternal orders. The reasoning and hypotheses parallel those used earlier in dealing with integrated voluntary associations. We assume that these <u>memberships</u> are not governed by external imperatives, such as job related requirements, and so are avoided by blacks. The findings in Table 3 support the hypothesis. Moreover, the relationship is stronger for middle SES faculty members

than for low SES respondents, supporting the assumption that members of the middle class are more sensitive than those in the lower class to social slights and rebuffs. The finding that blacks and whites attended meetings of white social organizations with equal likelihood in a two-month period was unanticipated, and refutes the hypothesis. We offer two related explanations for the failure to find the predicted relationship. First, faculty members in general (whites and blacks) may not have the desire or financial resources to participate actively in country club life. Secondly, the instruments were circulated during mid-year examinations. While faculty may have had time to visit colleagues and friends, and to attend (important) meetings of civil rights groups and community organizations, they may not have had time for long afternoons of golf. A relationship between race and attendance at predominantly white social organizations does appear, however, for each level of SES. For middle SES faculty, the gamma is -.189 while for lower SES faculty, the gamma is .170. That is, among middle SES faculty members, blacks attend white social clubs less often than whites do. For lower SES faculty members, the reverse is true. We conclude that the findings offer support for Hypothesis 3.

4.1 Conclusion

We have investigated the links between race and joking, formal, and avoidance relations. The major assumption of the paper is that joking, formality, and avoidance conjoin black and white professors whose interests diverge due to prejudice and status dilemma. Although we have shown that blacks teaching in white schools are more likely to engage in joking, formality and avoidance than their white colleagues, we must not overlook two important patterns on the data: 1) on many of the measures, the absolute differences between the whites and blacks are not great; and, 2) the majority of the members of both groups do not engage in extreme joking, formal or avoidance behavior. For instance, Table 2 shows that blacks are more likely than whites to prefer that their colleagues use their academic titles or the formal address, "mister." However, 86 percent of the whites and 72 percent of the blacks agree strongly, and more than 90 percent of both groups agree that they prefer their colleagues to use their first names. Part II continues by examining the correlates of joking, formality, and avoidance for the white and black professors.

Footnotes

1. This research could not have been conducted without the cooperation of many dedicated white and black professors.

2. Schools were selected from the Education Directory, 1966-67, Part 3, Higher Education. All schools in the three regions designated as Southern by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce were eliminated from the sample: 1) South Atlantic (Delaware, Florida, Georgia, District of Colombia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland); East South Central (Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi); 3) West South Central (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas). Schools outside the South with predominantly black student bodies, such as Wilberforce, were also excluded, as well as military academies, religious schools that do not grant the bachelor's degree, and professional schools.

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Table 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESPONSES OF 442 WHITE AND 554 BLACK PROFESSORS BY 13 CONTROL VARIABLES[a]

Control Variable	Response Category	White	Black
age	under 30	8	15
	30-40	36	39
	40-50	27	33
	50-60	21	12
	over 60	8	1
sex	male	81	72
	female	19	28
SES[b]	low	23	40
	moderate	33	37
	high	44	23
region of origin	South	10	43
	non-South	90	57
racial mix of college attended	predominantly white	99	58
	predominantly black	1	42
tenure	tenured	59	30
	untenured	37	53
	not applicable for my position	4	17
highest earned degree	doctorate	70	48
	other	30	52
field	social sciences	28	27
	physical and biological sciences	12	12
	humanities and languages	21	12
	education	29	27
	other fields	10	22

Table continued on following page.

Table 1--continued

Control Variable	Response Category	White	Black
rank	less than assistant professor	8	27
	assistant professor	30	33
	associate professor	25	15
	professor	23	9
	administrator	3	6
	any professorial rank with administrative duties (e.g., dept. chairman)	11	10
control of employing school	public	56	56
	private	44	44
quality of employing school[c]	high	8	15
	non-high	92	85
size of employing school	less than 1,000 students	10	8
	1,000-2,500	22	13
	2,500-9,000	19	27
	more than 9,000 students	49	52
location of employing school	eastern states[d]	49	52
	north central states[e]	38	32
	western states[f]	13	16

[a]Tests of significance are inappropriate and misleading when non-random samples are compared. The black respondents represent almost an entire population. The whites, partially matched, also are not a random sample. If the whites constituted an entire population, any racial differences, no matter how small, would be statistically significant. If the whites were randomly sampled, tests of significance would be conservative, since there would be sampling error for the whites but not for the blacks.

footnotes for Table 1 continued

[b]The background SES index is based on occupational prestige and life style of the parents of the black and white respondents. Data on the mother is included because of her importance in the black family. A principal components solution was computed in a factor analysis of three items: 1) family finances while growing up (code: 1--not always able to make ends meet; 2--able to have necessities only; 3--able to live comfortably; 4--well to do); 2) father's and 3) mother's occupation while respondent was growing up (code: 1--unskilled; 2--skilled, 2.5--housewife; 3--white collar; 4--professional). A single factor was extracted. Father's occupation loads highest on the factor, .812. Family finances loads .740, and mother's occupation loads lowest, .651. The sum of the loadings of each item on the factor is then weighted by the individual's response to each item, and this is summed over the three items. It is assumed that the resultant SES factor scores are a continuous variable with a mean of 2.00, standard deviation of .806, skewness of -.005, and kurtosis of -1.457. All respondents (blacks and whites) are ordered according to the decreasing magnitude of their factor scores; those in the top third of the distribution are high SES, and those in the middle and lower thirds are moderate and low SES respectively.

[c]High quality schools are those classified by Berelson (1960) as the "top 12 universities" and the "best 48 colleges" with the addition of Stanford and Brown Universities.

[d]Includes north eastern and middle Atlantic states.

[e]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[f]Includes mountain and Pacific states.

Table 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE RESPONSES OF 442 WHITE AND 554 BLACK FACULTY MEMBERS TO THE JOKING AND FORMALITY INSTRUMENTS

Response Choices And Weights For Joking Items
1 = A great deal
2 = Sometimes
3 = Rarely
4 = Never

Response Choices And Weights For Formality Items
1 = Agree strongly
2 = Agree slightly
3 = Disagree slightly
4 = Disagree strongly

Items	Race	Percentage Responding 1	2	3	4	N	SD	$\bar{X}$	γ	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$
How often do you joke, kid or horse around with your colleagues at work?	White	19	55	22	4	442	.75	2.11	-.143	-.090	-.109
	Black	24	56	18	2	538*	.71	1.98			
How often does this activity deal with racial matters?	White	2	13	47	38	441*	.73	3.22	-.626	-.408	-.311
	Black	9	42	37	12	535*	.82	2.52			
I prefer a more informal atmosphere in my relationships with my colleagues	White	76	17	4	3	533*	.71	1.34	.177	.070	.183
	Black	68	24	4	4	542*	.74	1.43			
I prefer that my colleagues use my first name, rather than my title or "mister"	White	86	10	3	1	438*	.51	1.18	.411	.180	.290
	Black	72	19	3	6	538*	.81	1.43			
I prefer a more informal atmosphere in my relationships with my students in the classroom	White	37	35	17	11	431*	1.00	2.03	.005	-.003	.084
	Black	35	36	20	9	539*	.95	2.02			
I prefer that my students use my first name, rather than my title or "mister"	White	7	15	26	52	432*	.94	3.24	.106	.091	.113
	Black	5	11	27	57	528*	.87	3.26			

*Missing cases due to blanks.

Table 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE RESPONSES OF 442 WHITE AND 554 BLACK FACULTY MEMBERS TO THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION INSTRUMENT

The Question	Response Choices And Weights			
How many . . .?	1 = None		3 = Three or four	
	2 = One or two		4 = Five or more	

Items	Race	% Responding 1	2	3	4	SD	$\bar{X}$	γ	γ For SES Low	Mid	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$
How many professional organizations do you belong to?	White	3	24	33	40	.87	3.09	-.148	-.330	-.213	-.098	-.114
	Black	5	29	35	31	.89	2.93					
How many professional meetings have you attended in the last year?	White	11	40	23	26	.99	2.63	-.020	.026	-.238	-.008	.001
	Black	11	42	21	26	.99	2.61					
How many professional meetings have you attended in the last two months?	White	47	43	10	0	.67	1.64	.040	.039	-.165	.045	-.021
	Black	47	39	10	4	.79	1.71					
Civil rights groups are you a member of?	White	75	23	2	0	.51	1.28	.653	.715	.684	.351	.342
	Black	36	57	6	1	.60	1.71					
How many meetings of civil rights groups have you attended in the last two months?	White	88	11	1	0	.42	1.15	.706	.788	.688	.347	.369
	Black	54	27	12	7	.93	1.71					
How many community organizations do you belong to (PTA, Chamber of Commerce, etc.)?	White	46	44	8	2	.69	1.65	.240	.267	.248	.136	.120
	Black	35	47	13	5	.82	1.88					

Table continued on following page.

Table 3--continued

Items	Race	% Responding 1	2	3	4	SD	X	γ	γ For SES Low	Mid	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$
How many meetings of community organizations have you attended in the last two months?	White	62	24	8	6	.87	1.57	.352	.365	.270	.183	.161
	Black	40	38	8	14	1.01	1.94					
How many home visits have you exchanged with your white colleagues in the past two months?	White	18	33	21	26	1.08	2.59	-.052	.142	-.034	-.040	.029
	Black	20	31	25	24	1.06	2.52					
How many home visits have you exchanged with other white friends in the past two months?	White	15	32	25	32	1.07	2.71	-.101	-.081	-.113	-.070	-.108
	Black	21	27	26	26	1.09	2.56					
How many home visits have you exchanged with black colleagues in the past two months?	White	88	10	2	0	.45	1.15	.789	.778	.841	.438	.442
	Black	45	24	78	13	1.08	2.00					
How many home visits have you exchanged with other black friends in the past two months?	White	78	17	3	2	.61	1.28	.862	.862	.850	.618	.509
	Black	20	18	18	44	1.18	2.86					
How many predominantly black social clubs do you belong to?	White	98	2	0	0	.13	1.02	.960	.958	.980	.476	.489
	Black	52	44	3	1	.59	1.51					

Table continued on following page.

Table 3--continued

Items	Race	% Responding 1	2	3	4	SD	$\bar{X}$	γ	γ For SES Low	Mid	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$
How many meetings of black social clubs have you attended in the past two months?	White	98	1	1	0	.28	1.04	.874	.789	.950	.284	.249
	Black	73	21	5	1	.63	1.34					
How many predominantly white social clubs do you belong to?	White	68	26	5	1	.65	1.40	-.197	-.089	-.368	-.099	.107
	Black	76	20	3	1	.59	1.30					
How many meetings of white social clubs have you attended in thepast two months?	White	80	13	4	3	.67	1.29	.017	.170	-.189	-.028	.011
	Black	79	18	1	2	.57	1.26					

Table 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE RESPONSES OF 442 WHITE AND 554 BLACK FACULTY MEMBERS TO THE SOCIABILITY IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS INSTRUMENT

Sociability In Voluntary Associations Response Categories and Weights: 1 = Agree strongly; 2 = Agree slightly; 3 = Disagree slightly; 4 = Disagree strongly

Items	Race	Percent Responding 1	2	3	4	N	SD	$\bar{X}$	γ	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$
One reason I attend professional meetings is to socialize	White	29	39	15	17	427*	1.04	2.21	.507	.345	.301
	Black	9	27	22	41	531*	1.02	2.97			
One reason I attend meetings of civil rights groups is to socialize	White	6	20	24	50	231*	.96	3.17	.310	.170	.205
	Black	4	10	19	67	458*	.83	3.49			
One reason I attend meetings of community organizations is to socialize	White	12	33	20	35	312*	1.06	2.77	.468	.294	.201
	Black	6	13	18	63	470*	.92	3.39			

*Missing cases due to blanks.

CHAPTER V

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS: JOKING, FORMAL, AND AVOIDANCE RELATIONS AMONG BLACK AND WHITE COLLEGE PROFESSORS

PART II: CORRELATES OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR BLACKS AND WHITES

By David M. Rafky

1.1 Introduction

In Part I we found that blacks teaching in predominantly white, non-southern colleges and universities are more likely than their white colleagues to engage in joking, formal and avoidance relations. These modes of interaction conjoin black and white professionals who are separated in the social structure by prejudice and status dilemma. In Part II, a multivariate procedure is used which classifies the black and white respondents by selected independent or control variables simultaneously, so that the effects[1] of each factor on joking (2.2), formality (2.3), and avoidance (2.4) can be observed while the effects of the others are held constant. The tables also indicate the conditions for which observed relationships are weaker or stronger (specification) and the conditions under which

anticipated but unobserved relationships appear (masking processes). Finally, presentation of the data in tables allows examination of the relations between the independent and dependent variables for blacks and whites separately. The following independent or control variables are considered: sex; racial mix of college attended; region in which the respondent spent the majority of the first eighteen years of his life; age; background SES (socio-economic status); quality of employing school; highest earned degree; and tenure.[2] In addition, we present statements made by the black and white professors which reveal their feelings toward concrete instances of joking, formality,and avoidance.

2.1 Prejudice and Status Dilemma

Black professors complain of social slights and rebuffs, presumably due to prejudice, by white colleagues and working class whites. One black relates that "three custodians, in response to seeing me in the company of white females, described in a context of thinly veiled enmity a castration which was alleged to have occurred in a local bar." Another describes a white colleague in a large midwestern state college:

> My presence here at . . . Stage College has been upsetting. It is hard, I find, to have talent and a willingness to work in an older teaching society. A man that I treated as if he were my brother, has been sneaky and unethical due to my new popularity among the student body. He is a southern white.

The black professor also has difficulty relating to whites because of status dilemma--occupation of "contradictory" statuses. Whites tend to perceive blackness as a master status-determining trait which overpowers other characteristics. Professional standing, however, is also an important attribute, and these attributes "clash" in the black professor. The black respondents complain that working class whites, white students, and indeed, white professors "all tend to assume that a Negro, no matter how well trained, is a dummy--this bugs me no end." They say that working class whites demonstrate "unwillingness to see me in my position" by behavior such as "assuming that I'm the secretary at the university." They feel that "a substantial segment of working class whites begrudges blacks who achieve more success than they do" and that:

> Relations with working class whites are very awkward and strained especially for Negroes in a position of authority or who have made a success of their lives. They seem to detest Negroes who may have more than they do.

Another black professor points out that his "contradictory" statuses make white workers ambivalent; "at times my education seems to cause working class whites to feel both inferior and superior--a contradiction leading to awkwardness."

White students also have difficulty accepting the professional status of black professors. One black respondent is "put on the defensive by students, for they seem quick to criticize my presence as a professional." Similarly, another points out that "since I am the first black staff member to come to the college, some students do not know how to accept me due to their lack of encounters with black leaders earlier."

White professors are also confused by the "unusual" combination of racial and occupational statuses of their black colleagues. One black professor reports that his white colleagues "refuse to accept me on the basis of professional competence and wish to relate on the basis of pity for the black." The comments of two other black professors are noteworthy:

> There seems to be an attitude on the part of my white colleagues of not knowing just how to treat me. The attitude is sometimes patronizing and sometimes one of acceptance, making a very awkward situation.
>
> Some still resist the idea that a black man can be equally qualified. It usually surprises them to learn of black faculty credentials. For example, one black administrator soon to be hired. Rumor immediately was that his credentials were questionable and skin color was the only motive. This man is now completing his Ph.D and he was the first director of the Headstart program in the area.

When describing sources of tension in interactions with white colleagues, blacks most frequently mention the insincerity and dishonesty that many white "so-called liberals" display in "their pretense of being liberals." One black professor describes his encounters with these "white dilettantes--people who profess liberalism but still want to know 'what they can do about the problem' or 'what is being done about the problem now'" as particularly awkward. Another black describes the feelings of many of his black colleagues:

> My white colleagues are mostly 'liberals,' meaning that they wish that you think they are sympathetic intellectuals; while in reality, they are uninvolved, conservative, fearful people, doing whatever, in limited involvement, simply because it is fashionable for liberals to 'endorse' the Black struggle.

One white faculty member agrees with this assessment:

> We [white] liberals still feel that we can use the term 'nigger' and laugh at ethnic jokes because we all know we really don't mean it and are not prejudiced. I wonder?

2.2 Joking Relations

Joking conjoins black and white professionals separated in the social structure by prejudice and status dilemma, and allows them to pursue shared goals in a common institutional setting. Since norms prohibit taking offense at hostile jokes "made in fun," the joking relationship is a socially permitted form of disrespect in which "double-edged" remarks, having both inoffensive and insulting meanings, are exchanged. Black faculty members who "take" joking insults from whites in a friendly way, and thus agree to maintain the interaction, are conjoined with their white colleagues.

The hostile intent of racial joking is becoming more apparent and professors are finding it increasingly difficult to retreat behind the phrase, "It was only a joke." For instance, during a period of racial disorders at his school, one high-ranking black professor at San Francisco State College asked: "On this campus, who has time, or mood to horse around?" Another black faculty member

agrees that especially in these times, racial joking is likely to be taken in the wrong way:

> Tenure year has arrived for three people in my department including myself. There seems no doubt about two of us being granted tenure. The other has been denied the recommendation of the department--apparently necessary if tenure is to be granted. A couple of [department] members--jokingly--so they thought--suggested that I encountered no difficulty with tenure because I am black. I did not appreciate hearing such comments.

Statements by white professors also reflect an increasing sensitivity to racial joking. Whites who "used to laugh at racial jokes . . . usually freeze now" and some report that "there are fewer race jokes floating around anymore." One white faculty members "find[s] that racial jokes are too hostile or painful to usually laugh," because "racial matters are a serious problem at our school with 14 percent of the students being black." Another white professor relates the decline in racial joking to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

> There are the usual wise cracks about race relations but I feel that a lot of them are in the nature of so-called sick jokes. But I don't recall hearing any at all in the past few months. And, since I've given it some thought, I don't really recall any major so-called racial jokes since Martin Luther King's death. We do though joke about our Negro colleague's skirts being so short that they catch on her hose.

The motivation behind racial joking is questioned by a white respondent:

> We liberals still feel that we can use the term 'nigger' and laugh at ethnic jokes because we all know we really don't mean it and are not prejudiced. I wonder?

Several blacks only joke with whites who are believed not to be racist. For example:

> I only joke with colleagues that I feel are not racist. An example: We are discussing textbooks, which drifted into comments about the books' black covers. I teased: 'Oh, you don't like <u>black</u> covers, eh?'

> A few colleagues feel that they should tell me their favorite Bill Cosby joke. If I like the person I let it go. Otherwise, I am somewhat curt. Some still come up with the 'Joe Lewis was sure a good boxer' routine.

Other blacks display a willingness to disparage themselves or their group in their joking behavior. One professor of education reports that "I say that after spending so much time and effort to earn an academic degree, I find myself a <u>specialist</u> in education for the disadvantaged by simply being born black." Another black explains "that my hair is wash and wear." One of the more revealing comments follows:

> If another person has committed an error in his personal contacts with me--mistaken identity--I will sometimes kid and ask if all blacks look alike to him. This is done only with a person who is secure enough to answer yes.

The following comments made by the black respondents illustrate the conjoining function of joking:

> When I came here last September [from Africa] I was spiritually at very low ebb, but, as it seems it did not show. I am now my very good old self again; mainly, I think the boys in this department are just a good bunch of hard working, productive and human humans. I never felt that my race made a difference. I joined in the fun and in the work. We joke about our wives and kids, etc. Maybe they have kept something from me. If they have I am stupid or they are good actors. The whole situation rather than any incident seems to spell out the position in the department.
>
> We have developed into a real team within the department of Industrial Education and Technology. There is one other Negro in the department (21 professionals) who has recently been elected president of the local branch of the NAACP. I often hear members of the faculty kid him about racial problems and NAACP activities. They feel free to do this and he comes back at them with no resultant problems. A Jewish colleague, no longer with us, operated in the same manner.
>
> I'm rather mischievous by nature and a great lover of practical jokes. I tease my friends and they tease me in a healthy fun loving manner. If my color is sometimes a source of amusement, so it is reversed with my colleagues lack of color or kinky hair. I think everyone's got something a little ridiculous and you have to be able to get a chuckle out of yourself and your own peculiarities.

Sometimes a Jewish colleague and I kid about the Arab-Israeli situation, black power, or Jewish-black confrontations in New York City. I have joked with a colleague of Dutch descent about racial segregation in South Holland, in the Chicago area.

I am occasionally teased about resembling Ron Karenga. I sometimes make jokes about racial matters. Upon completing a course in Old English language and literature recently, I remarked to a colleague that it was good to 'get out from under those Anglo-Saxons after all these years.'

A white colleague in describing a near auto accident concluded by saying, 'It would turn you white.' I replied by saying, 'That would be the miracle of the times.'

When they [white colleagues] show up tanned I tease them about trying to pass for black, to be à la mode.

One colleague and I have a standing joke that he is threatening to take over the field of Afro-American studies and I constantly threaten to scoop him with a book in his field.

Those of my colleagues who have known me for a few years know that I maintain that to make jokes about inequalities and injustices--academic or racial--serves as a wedge to finally crack and destroy the unjust structure. Therefore, we joke about many things, and racial and ethnic areas are fair game for sport.

Some white male instructors kid me about protecting them in the black revolution--meaning that this has been the role of the black female in the past--protector, peace maker, etc., for the black male.

A white colleague once said to me when she observed me picking up candy wrappers someone had dropped in her office, 'For heavens sake, stop acting like a janitor.' My response to her was, 'For heavens sake, stop acting like a white woman.' We both laughed heartily.

We usually talk about the adjustments of our white colleagues to their black counterparts. We would ask our white colleagues about other white instructors in America; the joke: all whites know each other.

One day I referred to a white colleague who teaches Spanish as 'La Blanc' because she was wearing a new white sweater she had knitted and a new white wool skirt. I added, 'Of course, you know what I mean,' and we both laughed about it.

Someone in a large faculty meeting used the expression: 'Call a spade a spade.' We joked about this.

The following statements made by white respondents illustrate the rapport establishing function of joking:

I laugh about racial problems to try to keep a perspective. For example, one of my friends has an interracial marriage and I have an interracial family. We laugh together frequently about the kooky things that happen to us. I suppose it's a kind of tension release.

When I was asked to teach one section of Social Work Practice, I called the one 'black' instructor who had taught the course last year. She encouraged me to take the job. Since then we have traded information and material relative to students and teaching. We have become friends. We discuss personal as well as professional business. We joke about our work,

families, our adolescents and how frustrating they are at times. Generally speaking, I maintain a 'fun' relationship with my colleagues or like to do so.

I call my Negro friend a right wing Birchite.

The kidding with blacks may be about black-white employment opportunities.

I only joke racially with Negro colleagues. Endless puns, double entendres, semantic antics, limericks, etc. Sex and scatology are number one.

When I got back from a weekend in Florida with a suntan, I exclaimed to one of my black colleagues, 'Yeah man, I see what you mean. Black is beautiful.'

I suggested to a black colleague who has gained weight recently that black may be beautiful, but fat is fat in any color.

My secretary, a part-time student, is black. This on occasion makes for good natured bantering from colleagues in the office; invariably it involves her in the conversation.

I kidded with a black colleague about his Afro haïrcut.

Since linguists work with many different languages and racial groups and are terrible punsters, such jokes--not necessarily Negro--are inevitable. Besides, a well trained sense of humor is necessary to cope with the modern world.

The gammas in Table 1 indicate that black faculty members are more likely than whites to engage in racial joking, regardless of location, size of school, field and rank. The relationship is particularly strong for faculty members in the West, in large school (more than 9,000 students) and in small school (less than 1,000 students), in education, and for administrators who hold academic appointments. The relationship is weaker for professors of administration than for practicing administrators.

In Tables 2, 3 and 4, the percentage of respondents who often joke about racial matters are classified by several variables simultaneously. Table 2 classifies blacks and whites by region of origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. The relationship between racial joking and race is maintained for each level of the control variables and is especially strong for women who attended predominantly white colleges. For the whites, only faculty members who grew up outside the South--especially women--often joke about racial matters. Among the blacks, women are also more likely than men to engage in frequent racial banter; however, this is true only for women who attended white colleges (regardless of where they grew up). These women who are the most likely to report racial joking.

A comparison of percentage differences between columns and rows on Table 2, ▪ shows that sex is a better predictor of the dependent variable than is race of college attended. For the sex categories, the marginals range from 7 to 17 percent (a difference of 10 percent) while the difference attributable to race of college is only 1 percent (9 to 10 percent). This pattern is especially striking for blacks who grew up outside the South. The effects of race of college attended on joking depend upon the sex of the respondents, not on where they grew up. For men, those who attended black colleges are more likely than graduates of white colleges to joke frequently about racial matters. The reverse is true among women.

The right side of Table 3 categorizes blacks and whites by age and SES simultaneously. The left side of the table presents only the marginals for each region, since the cell n's are too low for reliable percentaging. The relationship between race and the dependent variable is maintained for all levels of the control variables. Lower SES whites who are over 50 years of age are especially likely to report racial banter. Among the blacks, frequency of racial joking tends to increase with age and decrease with SES, with age having the greater effect on the dependent

variable (0 to 15 percent) than SES (7 to 11 percent). Blacks who are lower SES, over 50 years of age, and from the South are particularly likely to report frequent racial joking. In general, blacks from outside the South are slightly more likely than blacks from the South to enter into racial joking.

Table 1-4 about here

In Table 4, the white and black respondents are classified by quality of employing school, highest degree and tenure. Again, the relationship between race and the dependent variable is maintained for each level of the control variables. Generally, whites with the doctorate are more likely than whites without a doctorate to report frequent racial joking, regardless of tenure and quality of employing school. In addition, untenured whites are more likely than whites without tenure to joke. Whites who most often joke about racial matters are untenured, hold the doctorate, and teach in lower quality schools.

A consistent pattern does not emerge for the blacks. Generally, tenured blacks are more likely to engage in racial joking than untenured blacks, especially those who have

earned the doctorate and are teaching in the higher quality schools. However, tenured blacks without the doctorate who teach in lower quality schools are the most likely (13 percent) to report racial banter. Among untenured blacks, those teaching in lower quality schools are more likely than those in higher quality schools to joke on racial matters. The reverse is true for tenured blacks--those in high quality schools are the most likely to joke.

2.3 Formal Relations

The formal or polite form of interaction conjoins white and black professors separated in the social structure by prejudice and status ambiguity. Blacks report their relations as "much more easy going and natural with blacks" than with whites. One black professor is candid:

> I always have the feeling that our friendship [with white colleagues] is temporary and/or influenced by situational 'demands.' Very generally, I am not convinced that they feel toward me exactly as they feel about their white colleagues; I feel that the distinction is based entirely on race.

Another black respondent explains that he feels awkward with some white colleagues who resent his formal "title" and:

> who seemed very angry because I received a higher degree. One lady [faculty wife] said, 'I don't ever call my husband Doctor.' I felt that they would have been more pleased if I had burned a building down.

One example of the use of the polite form is the following description by a black professor of his relationship with a white woman faculty member:

> One female colleague becomes quite disturbed if the conversation turns to anything remotely related to race relations, discrimination, etc. Because she can only hear her own view of any issue, I simply confine conversation to chit-chat about the weather, etc.

Some white and black faculty members emphasize the reserve and mutual respect that characterizes their interactions. One white professor points out that "I think we are good friends who respect each other." Whites report that their encounters with blacks are "restricted" to "professional" contacts:

> There might be some awkwardness--though I doubt it--if associations were not always professional. In a sense, I am protected by professionalism; I suppose I join with black faculty and students in order to do a job--and the task orientation of the group eases things.

A black professor confirms this: "Association with my white colleagues in the line of duty has always been professional."

Situations, therefore, are defined in terms of the professional statuses of the faculty members and this serves to focus interactions. Thus, irrelevant behavior and expectations, i.e., social definitions associated with the racial statuses of the faculty members, are not permitted. Most of these professional relationships, even if long-standing and based on common interests, are not carried beyond the campus. According to a white professor:

> My sole Negro colleague is the only member of my department with whom I feel in accord both professionally and intellectually--perhaps owing to a similarity of educational background. I have not socialized with him outside of campus activities.

Relations between black professors and working class whites are also characterized by formality and "over polite manners":

> Most working class whites who do not know that I teach at this college usually become ill at ease when they discover it. The fact, I assume, that I represent that segment of society known to not have the 'basic' skills causes this uneasiness when it is revealed that I am 'Dr.' The future contacts reflect this by their over polite manners and their saying, 'How wonderful it is to have a college education, especially for you.'

Sometimes formal titles, such as "Doc" are used derisively or are conspicuously omitted by working class whites:

Working class whites do not wish to grant status recognition to Negroes of the same status as whites. Some persist in 'boy' and 'Doc' rather than the more conventional address.

For example, I moved into a duplex apartment in August, 1967, which was in a predominantly white neighborhood. The services by the manager went down after most of the white families moved out and I have had a running battle with him for the past year to see that services are maintained at whiat I know they were before. Recently, he tried to belittle me by telling me that only M.D.s deserve to be called doctor and that I was just another ordinary colored man where he is concerned. Who do I think I am making demands?

The gammas in Table 1 show that black faculty members, with two exceptions, are more likely than whites to prefer that colleagues use their academic titles and other formal address, regardless of location, size of school, field and rank. There are no racial differences on this measure of formality among faculty members who list their academic field as administration. In addition, among practicing administrators, the relationship is reversed. That is, black administrators are <u>less</u> likely than white administrators to prefer that colleagues use their formal title. Racial differences in formality are particularly striking among faculty in the eastern states, in small schools (less than 1,000 students), in the field of education, and for assistant professors.

Table 5 classifies the respondents by race, sex, region of origin, and racial mix of college attended. The relationship between race and colleagual formality is maintained for all values of the control variables, except for women who grew up in the South. For the whites, men are more likely than women to prefer the use of titles, especially if they have spent the first 18 years of their lives in the South.

Among the blacks, faculty members from the South are much more likely than those from other regions to prefer formal address by colleagues, regardless of sex or racial mix of college attended. The effects of race of college on the dependent variable vary with the sex and region of origin of the black respondents. Among blacks from outside the South, men who attended white colleges are more likely than men who attended black colleges to prefer formal titles, while none of the women from outside the South prefer titles. For black men who grew up in the South, graduates of white colleges are more likely than graduates of black schools to prefer colleagual formality. However, among women from the South, racial mix of college attended has the opposite effect; women graduates of black colleges are especially likely to prefer

that colleagues use their academic titles rather than their first names.

Tables 5, 6, and 7 about here

Table 6 shows that the relationship between race and preference for titles persists for all levels of SES, age, and region of origin. The relationship is particularly strong for faculty from the South, for moderate and low SES respondents, and for younger (under 40) professors. By comparing percentage differences between columns and rows on the upper right hand section of Table 6, it can be seen that for whites, SES and age are equally good predictors of the dependent variables. Older whites (over 40) and lower SES whites tend to prefer titles; this is true, however, only for whites from outside the South.

Among the blacks, lower and moderate SES faculty members tend to prefer formal titles, regardless of region of origin and age. In addition, blacks who grew up in the South are more likely than blacks raised in other regions to prefer formal colleagual relations, for all ages and SES levels. By comparing the percentage differences between column and row totals on the lower section of Table 6, it can be seen that for blacks SES is a better

predictor of the dependent variable than is region. For the SES categories, the marginals range from 0 to 15 percent (a difference of 15 percent) while the difference attributable to region is 10 percent (5 to 15 percent). Generally the relationship between age and the dependent variable is non-monotonic; blacks who are lower SES and under 30 or who are moderate SES and over 50 are the most likely to prefer formal address.

The findings in Table 7, where race is cross-classified by school quality, highest degree, and tenure, are of doubtful reliability due to the large number of missing cases. The percentages suggest that the relationship between race and preference for titles by colleagues is maintained for all faculty members except tenured teachers without the doctorate in lower quality schools. Among faculty members in this classification, whites are more likely than blacks to prefer formal address.

Tenured whites are approximately twice as likely as untenured whites to prefer colleagual formality, regardless of highest degree and quality of employing school. The effects of highest degree and school quality on the dependent variable are small. Whites who particularly prefer

titles are tenured; either they hold the doctorate and teach in high quality schools or they do not hold the doctorate and teach in lower quality schools.

For the blacks, highest degree is strongly related to desire for formality with colleagues; 17 percent of the blacks without the doctorate report preference for titles compared to 8 percent of the blacks who hold the doctorate. This finding, however, only describes untenured blacks who are employed in lower quality schools. Among tenured blacks (in high and low quality schools), holders of the doctoral degree are less likely than holders of other degrees to prefer formal address by their colleagues. Generally, blacks without tenure are more likely than those who are tenured to prefer titles. Untenured blacks without the doctorate in lower quality schools are especially likely to prefer that their colleagues use their title or "mister."

2.4 Avoidance Relations

Joking or formality may not "save" problematic confrontations between whites and blacks from dissolution. Below, a black professor explains that he avoids whites because when whites drink, the veneer of formal civility wears thin:

> I don't like to be around white people who have been drinking. Many times a person's true feelings comes out under the influence of alcohol. This was true of a white roommate I had during my graduate school years. We went to a bar and after a few drinks, he made an off-color remark which 'turned me off.' I moved out of the room at the end of the semester. This has happened on other occasions also. I now feel that most or a majority of professed liberals are basically insincere and hypocrites.

Many of the blacks report that their white colleagues intentionally avoid them. Incredibly, one black faculty member reports that "there are two [professors] in the department who still do not feel free enough with me to answer when I speak!" Another says that he is "not welcomed to participate in their more intimate inner circles." Below we present statements by three black professors which describe white avoidance:

> In my department there is no strained feeling among my colleagues but with others in the college there is a feeling that one doesn't exist. One incident: a professor from another department who knows me passed by me and introduced a visiting white professor to another instructor (white) and acted as if I weren't there. The room had only 5 people in it at the time. The other person was introduced also.
>
> Such encounters vary depending upon the sex of my colleagues as well as color. As a Negro woman working in a predominantly white, male institution, I find that colleagues frequently are either ill-at-ease in my presence or they ignore me completely. Incident: I was seated

at a table in the Faculty Dining Room. I was the only Negro there. No one was talking until an instructor came to the table. He introduced himself to all at the table (4 or 5) except me. This broke the ice and a general conversation ensued. Since I had been so pointedly ignored, I felt uncomfortable and I did not attempt to enter into conversation with anyone.

A few of us (black and white) decided that a getting together in some regular way to talk about racial matters might be helpful. One colleague (white) said she would call such a meeting. When I learned that the meeting had been held without any of the Black faculty present, and confronted her with this knowledge, asking why this had happened, her response was that the white members who had agreed to meet had felt that hostile feelings might have come to the surface and would be difficult to deal with.

Black professors also avoid and are ignored by working class whites, as the three statements below illustrate:

> I recently attending a meeting of a professional committee in another town. The waitress in the hotel where I had breakfast was very clear in the difference in the treatment afforded me and the whites with whom I was sitting. She had difficulty asking what I wanted or whether I wanted more coffee. She simply presented herself and stood. With my colleagues, she was outgoing and appeared friendly. For my part, I was tempted to simply wait until she addressed me but after a strained minute I asked if she was ready to take my order. She nodded.

I went to get my car fixed and the white garage guy was talking to a lady and I felt awkward, not being able to interrupt the conversation or draw attention to my presence. He finally directed his attention to me, but I got 'on the humble' to elicit his interest in my car. I feel always that most working class whites are pro-Wallacites and that they are more prone to give you trouble in face-to-face encounters these days.

My encounters as a Black person with working class whites are slightly awkward particularly if the white person is encountered in a situation where I am, at first, seem as just another Black person who can be ignored or deprecated. As a defense against this situation, I find that I usually avoid encounters with working class whites except in a situation where my prestige (professional identity) or my buying power establishes me as a person who will not accept or tolerate deprecation. It is probably true that I avoid as many of these encounters as I can. Otherwise, I am usually guarded and careful not to put myself in a position where I cannot control my relationships.

In general, black faculty join fewer predominantly white social organizations (country clubs, fraternal orders, etc.) than whites. The gammas in Table 1 show that this is an accurate description of faculty members in three regions, in schools of all sizes, in the social sciences, education, and administration, and in the ranks associate professor or lower. Among faculty who list their field as administration, and for full-professors and administrators, blacks are <u>more</u> likely than whites to report

memberships in white social organizations. There appear to be no racial differences on the dependent variable for faculty in the humanities and languages and for administrators with professorial rank.

Tables 8, 9, and 10 about here

Table 8 groups faculty by region of origin, race of college attended, sex and race simultaneously, so that the effects of each variable on avoidance of white social organizations can be measured. The relationship between race and avoidance is maintained for all classifications of faculty, except men from the South who attended white colleges. In this group, blacks join more integrated social organizations than whites. Among the whites, women are more likely than men to join white social clubs, whether or not they grew up in the South.

For the blacks, the effects of sex and race of undergraduate school on the dependent variable are small and approximately equal (6 percent). Women report fewer memberships than men; graduates of black colleges report fewer memberships than graduates of white colleges; and,

faculty raised in the South report slightly fewer memberships than those from outside the South.

The percentages in Table 9 show that, in general, the relationship between race and avoidance of white social organizations is maintained for several values of region, SES, and age. Among the whites, older (over 50) faculty members belong to more white social clubs than younger faculty, regardless of SES and region of origin. In addition, upper SES whites tend to report more memberships than lower and moderate SES whites, whether or not they are over 50 years of age.

Among the blacks, younger faculty (under 30) report more memberships in predominantly white social organizations than older faculty, whether or not they were raised in the South. Furthermore, upper SES blacks tend to be members of more white clubs than lower SES blacks, regardless of SES or region of origin. Generally, blacks from outside the South are slightly more likely to report one or more club memberships than blacks who grew up in the South.

Table 10 classifies the black and white respondents by highest earned degree, quality of employing school, and tenure. The relationship between race and the dependent variable does not appear for all values of the control

variables. Generally, blacks tend to report fewer memberships in white social clubs than whites. Among untenured faculty members without the doctorate who teach in lower quality schools, however, whites are members of fewer social organizations than blacks. The same pattern holds, although less strongly, among tenured faculty who hold the doctorate in high quality schools.

Among the whites, untenured faculty belong to fewer clubs than tenured teachers, regardless of highest degree or quality of employing school. Untenured whites who hold the doctorate and teach in lower quality schools are especially likely to report few club memberships.

For the blacks, tenure only weakly and inconsistently affects the dependent variable. Untenured blacks in high quality schools who hold the doctorate report memberships in no white social clubs, while untenured blacks in lower quality schools without the doctorate are especially likely to report memberships in white social clubs.

3.1 Summary and Conclusion

The relationships between race and selected measures of joking, formality and avoidance have been examined for samples of white and black professors in predominantly

white, non-Southern colleges and universities. The findings do not appear to be spurious.

The likelihood of white faculty engaging in racial joking was predicted from several variables considered two and three at a time. Racial joking was shown to be especially likely when a white is:

--female and grew up outside the South

--over 50, low SES, and grew up outside the South

--untenured, in a low quality school, and holds the doctorate.

For the whites, the best single predictor of racial joking is age (over 50).

Racial joking was shown to be especially likely when a black is:

--female and attended a white college

--low SES and over 50

--tenured, in a low quality school, and does not hold the doctorate.

For the blacks, the best single predictors of racial joking are sex (female) and age (over 40).

The likelihood of white faculty indicating a preference for formal address by colleagues was predicted from several variables considered two and three at a time,

Preference for titles was shown to be especially likely when a white is:

--male and from the South

--over 40 and low SES

--tenured, in a high quality school, and holds the doctorate

--tenured, in a low quality school, and does not hold the doctorate.

For the whites, the best single predictor of preference for titles is age (over 40).

Preference for colleagual formality was shown to be especially likely when a black is:

--male, [redacted] from the South, and attended a white college

--female, [redacted] from the South, and attended a black college

--under 30 and from the South

--low SES and from the South

--untenured, in a low quality school, and does not hold the doctorate.

For the blacks, the best single predictors of preference for titles are region of origin (South), SES (low), age (under 30), and tenure (untenured).

The likelihood of white faculty indicating no memberships in predominantly white social organizations was predicted from several variables considered two and three at a time. Non-membership was shown to be especially likely when a white is:

--male and from the South

--under 50 and from the South

--medium or high SES and from the South

--under 50 and grew up outside the South

--low or moderate SES and grew up outside the South

--untenured, in a low quality school, and holds the doctorate.

For the whites, the best single predictors of non-membership in white social clubs are sex (male), age (under 50), and tenure (untenured).

Non-membership in predominantly white social organizations was shown to be particularly likely when a black:

--attended a black college and grew up outside the South

--attended a black college, is female and from the South

--is over 40 and from the South

--is over 50 and grew up outside the South

--is low SES and from the South

--is untenured and holds the doctorate

--is tenured, in a low quality school,
and does not hold the doctorate.

For the blacks, the best single predictors of the dependent variable are age (over 50) and highest degree (doctorate).

This paper is mainly descriptive; it presents findings, primarily in tabular form, with a minimum of interpretation. The author has intentionally refrained from proposing what may seem to be obvious explanations and interpretations of the findings for two reasons. First, it is redundant (and often quite difficult) to verbalize what tables illustrate more clearly and concisely. Secondly, as a white, the author's explanation of the findings may be biased by his unconscious assumptions about race. That is, the author cannot separate himself from the general climate of racism that exists in the United States at this time, and so presents his data for black scholars to interpret in light of their experiences and understandings.

Footnotes

1. The word "effect" is used to mean statistical association, not cause and effect which the term implies in everyday usage.

2. See Table 1 in Part I for operational definitions and racial breakdowns on these measures.

Table 1

Gammas of the Responses of 996 Faculty Members for (1) Race by Racial Joking; (2) Race by Preference for First Names; and (3) Race by Membership in Predominantly White Social Organizations For Each Level of Selected Control Variables

Control Variables	Racial Joking by Race = -.626	Preference For Use of Titles by Race = .411	White Social Memberships by Race = -.197
Location			
eastern states[a]	-.609	.497	-.203
north central states[b]	-.568	.389	-.190
western states[c]	-.711	.401	-.210
Number of Students on Campus			
less than 1,000	-.639	.502	-.420
1,000-2,500	-.512	.489	-.299
2,500-9,000	-.489	.490	-.191
more than 9,000	-.699	.400	-.188
Field			
social sciences	-.620	.310	-.128
physical and biological sciences	-.378	.365	-.102
humanities and languages	-.665	.231	.037
administration	-.333	.000	.399
education	-.770	.508	-.103
other fields	-.554	.510	-.532
Academic Rank			
less than assistant professor	-.660	.481	-.380
assistant professor	-.581	.691	-.307
associate professor	-.700	.463	-.420
professor	-.386	.364	.250
administrator	-.557	-.100	.551
any professorial rank with administrative duties (e.g., department chairman)	-.740	.319	-.037

[a]Includes north eastern and middle Atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and Pacific states.

Table 2

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Often Joke About Racial Matters With Their Colleagues by Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up in South			Grew Up Outside South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
				WHITES					
Male	0(32)[a]	--	0(32)	1(301)	-(3)	1(304)	1(333)	-(3)	1(336)
Female	0(11)	--	0(11)	3(65)	--	3(65)	3(76)	--	3(76)
Total	0(43)	--	0(43)	1(369)	-(3)	1(369)	1(409)	-(3)	1(412)[b]
				BLACKS					
Male	0(43)	8(113)	6(156)	6(177)	19(42)	8(219)	5(220)	11(155)	7(375)
Female	25(12)	9(43)	13(55)	23(56)	7(15)	20(71)	24(68)	9(58)	17(126)
Total	6(55)	8(156)	8(211)	10(233)	16(57)	11(290)	9(288)	10(213)	10(501)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too small for reliable percentaging).

[b]30 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]53 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 3

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Often Joke About Racial Matters With Their Colleagues by Age, SES, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

		Grew up in South	Grew up Outside South	All Regions			
				Low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
			WHITES				
Age	under 30	-(4)[a]	0(30)	0(3)	0(10)	0(21)	0(34)
	30-40	0(20)	0(123)	0(33)	0(48)	0(62)	0(143)
	40-50	0(9)	0(104)	0(35)	0(35)	0(43)	0(113)
	over 50	0(9)	4(112)	8(25)	0(47)	4(49)	3(121)
				Total 2(96)	0(140)	1(175)	1(411)[b]
SES	low	-(6)	2(90)				
	med	0(16)	0(124)				
	high	0(20)	1(155)				
Total	South	0(42)	Non-South 1(369)				
			BLACKS				
Age	under 30	0(40)	0(35)	0(39)	0(14)	0(22)	0(75)
	30-40	5(77)	12(122)	10(93)	10(79)	4(27)	9(199)
	40-50	13(72)	12(100)	13(60)	13(67)	9(45)	12(172)
	over 50	12(25)	17(36)	28(18)	4(25)	17(18)	15(61)
				Total 11(210)	10(185)	7(112)	10(507)[c]
SES	low	8(83)	12(127)				
	med	10(83)	10(102)				
	high	2(48)	11(64)				
Total	South	8(214)	Non-South 11(293)				

[a] Base N for percents.

[b] 31 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing.

[c] 47 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 4

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Often Joke About Racial Matters With Their Colleagues by Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				WHITES					
High	0(15)[a]	-(6)	0(21)	-(9)	--	-(9)	0(24)	-(6)	0(30)
Non-high	1(151)	0(27)	1(178)	3(73)	0(15)	2(88)	2(224)	0(42)	2(266)
Total	1(166)	0(33)	1(199)	2(82)	0(15)	2(97)	2(248)	0(48)	1(296)[b]
				BLACKS					
High	10(39)	-	10(39)	0(22)	-(3)	0(25)	7(61)	-(3)	6(64)
Non-high	6(52)	13(24)	8(76)	5(76)	8(24)	13(100)	11(128)	10(48)	11(176)
Total	8(91)	13(24)	9(115)	11(98)	7(27)	11(125)	10(189)	10(51)	10(240)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]166 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]314 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 5

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Prefer that Their Colleagues Use Their Title or "Mister," Rather Than Their First Name by Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up in South			Grew Up Outside South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
WHITES									
Male	6(32)[a]	--	6(32)	3(297)	-(3)	2(300)	3(329)	-(3)	3(332)
Female	0(11)	--	0(11)	2(66)	--	2(66)	1(77)	--	1(77)
Total	5(43)	--	5(43)	3(366)	-(3)	3(366)	3(406)	-(3)	3(409)[b]
BLACKS									
Male	21(43)	6(113)	10(156)	8(173)	0(38)	6(211)	10(216)	5(151)	8(367)
Female	17(12)	24(45)	23(57)	0(59)	0(16)	0(75)	3(71)	18(61)	10(132)
Total	20(55)	11(158)	14(213)	6(232)	0(54)	5(286)	8(287)	9(212)	8(499)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 33 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 55 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 6

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Prefer That Their Colleagues Use Their Title or "Mister," Rather Than Their First Name by Age, SES, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

		Grew up in South	Grew up Outside South	All Regions: Low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
			WHITES				
Age	under 30	-(4)	0(30)	-(3)	0(10)	0(21)	0(34)
	30-40	0(20)	0(119)	0(31)	0(46)	0(62)	0(139)
	40-50	-(9)	3(105)	8(36)	3(35)	0(43)	4(114)
	over 50	-(9)	5(112)	8(25)	2(47)	6(49)	5(121)
			Total	5(95)	1(138)	2(175)	3(408)[b]
SES	low	-(6)	5(89)				
	med	0(16)	2(122)				
	high	0(20)	2(155)				
Total		South 2(42)	Non-South 4(366)				
			BLACKS				
Age	under 30	24(42)	0(35)	26(39)	0(16)	0(22)	13(77)
	30-40	14(77)	6(124)	14(93)	6(78)	0(30)	9(201)
	40-50	10(72)	3(97)	9(57)	8(67)	0(45)	6(169)
	over 50	19(31)	9(32)	16(19)	26(23)	0(21)	14(63)
			Total	15(208)	9(184)	0(118)	9(510)[c]
SES	low	27(86)	7(122)				
	med	13(85)	5(99)				
	high	0(51)	0(67)				
Total		South 15(222)	Non-South 5(288)				

[a]Base N for percents.

[b]34 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]44 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 7

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Prefer That Their Colleagues Use Their Title or "Mister," Rather Than Their First Name by Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				WHITES					
High	7(15)[a]	-(6)	5(21)	-(9)	--	-(9)	4(24)	-(6)	3(30)
Non-high	5(151)	7(27)	5(178)	3(73)	0(15)	2(88)	4(224)	5(42)	4(266)
Total	5(166)	6(33)	5(199)	2(82)	0(15)	2(97)	4(248)	4(48)	4(296)[b]
				BLACKS					
High	8(39)	--	8(39)	0(22)	-(3)	0(25)	6(61)	-(3)	5(64)
Non-high	6(55)	0(20)	4(75)	12(83)	33(24)	17(107)	9(138)	18(44)	12(182)
Total	6(94)	0(20)	5(114)	10(105)	30(27)	14(132)	8(199)	17(47)	10(246)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b] 146 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 308 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 8

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Belong to No Predominently White Social Organizations by Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up in South			Grew Up Outside South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
				WHITES					
Male	94(32)[a]	--	94(32)	84(301)	-(3)	84(304)	85(333)	-(3)	85(336)
Female	64(11)	--	64(11)	79(66)	--	79(66)	77(77)	--	77(77)
Total	86(43)	--	86(43)	83(370)	-(3)	83(370)	83(410)	-(3)	83(413)[c]
				BLACKS					
Male	88(43)[a]	88(116)	88(159)	84(179)	96(42)	86(221)	85(222)	90(158)	87(380)
Female	-(5)	96(45)	97(60)	88(59)	100(16)	91(75)	91(74)	97(61)	93(135)
Total	91(58)	90(161)	90(219)	85(238)	97(58)	87(296)	86(296)	92(219)	89(515)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]29 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]39 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 9

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Belong to no Predominantly White Social Organizations by Age, SES, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

		Grew up in South	Grew up Outside South	All Regions			
				Low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
			WHITES				
Age	under 30	-(4)	87(30)	-(3)	100(10)	81(21)	88(34)
	30-40	90(20)	85(123)	97(33)	94(48)	74(62)	86(143)
	40-50	89(9)	85(105)	78(36)	94(35)	84(43)	85(114)
	over 50	67(9)	78(112)	72(25)	79(47)	78(49)	77(121)
				Total 84(97)	89(140)	78(175)	83(412)[b]
SES	low	-(6)	85(91)				
	med	88(16)	90(124)				
	high	90(20)	77(155)				
Total	South	86(42)	Non-South 83(370)				
			BLACKS				
Age	under 30	86(42)	83(35)	87(39)	81(16)	82(22)	84(77)
	30-40	88(80)	96(127)	90(96)	94(79)	100(32)	93(207)
	40-50	96(75)	73(100)	89(61)	83(67)	76(45)	83(175)
	over 50	94(31)	100(36)	100(21)	100(25)	91(21)	97(67)
				Total 90(217)	89(189)	86(120)	89(526)[c]
SES	low	92(90)	88(127)				
	med	91(87)	88(102)				
	high	88(51)	84(69)				
Total	South	91(228)	Non-South 87(298)				

[a] Base N for percents.

[b] 30 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing.

[c] 28 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 10

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Professors Who Belong to no Predominantly White Social Organizations by Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

School Quality	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				WHITES					
High	87(15)[a]	-(6)	91(21)	-(9)	--	-(9)	92(24)	-(6)	93(30)
Non-high	83(151)	74(27)	82(178)	92(73)	87(15)	91(88)	86(224)	79(42)	85(266)
Total	83(166)	79(33)	82(199)	93(82)	87(15)	92(97)	86(248)	81(48)	86(296)[b]
				BLACKS					
High	80(39)	--	80(39)	100(22)	-(3)	88(25)	87(61)	-(3)	83(64)
Non-high	85(58)	100(24)	89(82)	94(86)	21(24)	89(110)	90(144)	85(48)	89(192)
Total	83(97)	100(24)	86(121)	95(108)	63(27)	89(135)	89(205)	80(51)	88(256)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]146 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]298 missing cases due to blanks.

CHAPTER VI

A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS

IS THE BLACK PROFESSOR UPTIGHT?--SOME NON-REACTIVE MEASURES OF ANXIETY AND HOSTILITY*

By David M. Rafky

1.1 Introduction

The assassination of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., spurred many "traditionally closed," predominantly white colleges and universities to recruit black faculty. An analysis of the problems of black faculty in white institutions may help smooth the path of other blacks to these schools and shed light on the dynamics of race relations. This paper focuses on the psychological costs of working in an integrated and possibly hostile environment. Section 2 discusses procedures and measures of the dependent variable. The findings are presented in Section 3 and Section 4, concludes the paper.

2.1 Hypotheses

We assume that the black professor is uptight--"in a state of extreme anxiety"[5] [p. 16], angry and

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*This paper could not have been written without the cooperation of many dedicated black and white faculty members.

hostile--as a result of prejudice and status dilemma. Prejudice toward black professors qua blacks results in "socially imposed handicaps peculiar to lower caste . . . discrimination in employment, segregation in housing, and all other stigmata"[2] [p. 304]. Lowly evaluated racial status guarantees less than full access to the rights, privileges, and rewards available in American society. Sommers[19] and Pettigrew[16] have shown that discriminatory treatment is associated with various psychological difficulties, such as low self-esteem, self-hate, and anxiety. Furthermore, discrimination and the anticipation of discrimination increase the likelihood of social slights, rebuffs, ostracism and other indignities which reinforce anxiety and negative self-image.

The black professor as a black and a professor occupies contradictory statuses in which the "powerful" attributes of race and professional standing "clash," resulting in a kind of marginality which Hughes[11] calls status dilemma:

> Membership in the Negro race, as defined in American mores and/or law, may be called a master status determining trait. It tends to overpower, in most crucial situations,

> any other characteristics which might run counter to it. But professional standing is also a powerful characteristic--most so in the specific relationships of professional practice, less so in the general intercourse of people. In the person of the professionally qualified Negro these two powerful characteristics clash. [p. 111]

Due to status dilemma, the black professor is exposed to two complexes of expectations. One set of expectations defines his rights and obligations as a black; the other concerns his role as a professor. Like other marginal men, "he is torn between two courses of action and is unable calmly to take the one and leave the other"[20] [p. 164]. Therefore, since black faculty are more likely than white professors to experience prejudice and status dilemma, and since (we assume) anxiety results from these conditions, it follows:

> Hyp. 1: Black faculty members are more likely than white faculty members to experience anxiety.

Studies of marginal men[13,15] suggest an elaboration of the hypothesis. Kerckhoff and McCormick[13] administered a personality inventory to presumably marginal Indian children on a reservation and to a matched comparison group of whites. The inventory measured such anxiety-related traits as: doubts about one's place in social situations, fear of rejection and failure, self-consciousness, hypersensitivity, and feelings of inadequacy and loneliness. They found that Indian children scored significantly higher on these measures than the whites, and that "the greatest incidence of marginal personality occurs in those [Indian] individuals who . . . identify with the dominant [white] outgroup" [p. 54] and who encounter a high degree of rejection.[13] Mann,[15] using part of the Kerckhoff and McCormick[13] inventory and additional items, replicated that study. The marginal group were men in the Sparks Estate "colored" community in Durban, South Africa. Mann[15] finds, contrary to Kerckhoff and McCormick,[13] that the stress inventory did not differentiate "coloreds" from white controls. However, non-significant trends in the data indicate that dark-complexioned "coloreds" who identify with whites and encounter rejection by whites because of their low

passability (i.e., darker skin) experience greater psychological stress than lighter complexioned "coloreds" who do not identify with whites and who experience less rejection because of their high passability (i.e., lighter skin).

These studies suggest that uptightness is more severe when the marginal individual identifies with and is rejected by the "majority" group. If we assume that the corresponding reference group for professors is intellectuals in general, it therefore follows:

Ancillary Hyp.: The relationship between race and anxiety is stronger for faculty members who <u>both</u> identify with and are rejected by intellectuals in general than for others.

2.2 Samples and Procedures

In 1969, a largely pre-coded questionnaire was mailed to 699 white and 699 black faculty members in predominantly white colleges and universities outside the South. Seventy-nine percent (554) of the black responded, compared to 63 percent (442) of the whites.

Rosters of black professors were solicited from the provosts, presidents, deans, and selected department chairmen of all four-year, degree granting, predominantly white, non-southern institutions with more than 300 students.* In addition, prominent black scholars and organizations (such as the Metropolitan Applied Research Center headed by Dr. Kenneth Clark) supplied the names of blacks at schools that refused to cooperate in the survey. The

*Schools were selected from the Education Directory.[7] All schools in the three regions designated as Southern by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce were eliminated from the sample: 1--South Atlantic (Delaware, Florida, Georgia, District of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland); East South Central (Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi); 3--West South Central (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas). Schools outside the South with predominantly black student bodies, such as Wilberforce, were also excluded, as well as military academies, religious schools that do not grant the bachelor's degree, and professional schools.

sample of 699 blacks may include as much as 75 to 90 percent of the target population. In 1968, A. Gilbert Belles[3] conducted a survey for the Southern Reporting Service which sought to determine how many blacks were teaching in predominantly white four-year institutions. The sampled schools claimed to employ 785 black professors, but did not supply their names or other corroborating evidence. One administrator "listed 208 'professional employees' but did not indicate how many of them were teaching faculty"[3] [p. 25]. Belles cautions that the total of 785 may therefore be inflated.

A comparison group of 699 whites was selected from 300 available college and university bulletins. The two groups were matched on academic field, size, location, and control--public or private--of employing institution. Since a substantial proportion of black faculty are women, an unsystematic attempt was made to match the two groups on sex. This was not successful; 28 percent of the black respondents are women compared to 18 percent of the whites.

Survey research cannot demonstrate that racial differences "cause" differences in anxiety. The observation that black professors are more likely than the comparison group of whites to report anxiety-related symptoms,

for example, does not demonstrate that racial differences, per se, account for differential anxiety levels. There are additional factors that distinguish the two groups, as Table 1 indicates. For instance, the proportion of southerners is higher in the black sample than in the white sample; this could account for differences in anxiety.

Table 1 about here

That is: southerners in general (i.e., blacks and whites) may be anxious, and, since many black professors are from the South, the observed relationship between race and anxiety may be an artifact of the association between region of origin and anxiety.

To reduce the probability that the relationships between race and the dependent variables are spurious, nine initial differences between the white and black respondents are held constant simultaneously in a partial correlation procedure. The measure of association computed is the zero-order point-biserial correlation

coefficient (r_{pbis}).* A ninth order partial correlation coefficient ($r_{1,2...9}$) is computed for race by each dependent measure in which the following nine variables are controlled simultaneously: age, sex, SES, region of origin, racial mix of undergraduate college attended, highest earned degree, tenure, rank, and quality of employing school. If the zero-order correlations (r_{pbis}) are not reduced substantially when the residuals of the regressions are correlated ($r_{1,2...9}$), we would feel confident, although not certain, that the observed relations between race and anxiety are not spurious.

2.3 Non-Reactive Measures of Uptightness

Typical anxiety inventories[12,18] are offensive and "fakable" because of the obvious relationship between item content and anxiety:

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*r_{pbis} is the traditional Pearson r in cases where one measure (race) is dichotomized. r_{pbis} takes on values between -1.000 (maximum or perfect negative association) and +1.000 (maximum or perfect positive association). r_{pbis} of zero indicates lack of statistical dependence.

Are you a bedwetter?

Is your body always in a very bad condition?

Does worry continually get you down?

Have you ever been bothered by your heart beating hard?

Have you ever felt that you were going to have a nervous breakdown?

Do your hands ever tremble enough to bother you?

Do you find it upsetting to have to move all your belongings to a new place?

Obnoxious and "fakable" anxiety scales are avoided by exploiting the relationship between joking and anxiety. Otherwise reluctant respondents readily admit to joking which reveals repressed motives; joking disguises and makes remote impulses unacceptable to the ego, such as hostility and anxiety.[9]

The joking <u>relationship</u> is therefore:

> a peculiar combination of friendliness and antagonism. The behavior is such that in any other social context it would express and arouse hostility; but it is not meant

> seriously and must not be taken seriously. To put it another way, the relationship is one of permitted disrespect.[17] [p. 91]

Levine[14] alludes to several studies which "have shown convincingly that people who are generally aggressive or are easily aroused to anger tend to prefer hostile humor" [p. 5]. If joking relations express hostility and anxiety, it follows that black professors who have presumably repressed these impulses are more likely to engage in joking than white professors who presumably have not. One measure of the dependent variable, uptightness, is therefore frequency of joking. Blacks only or blacks and whites may engage in joking relations. Since race is salient, joking remarks are likely to refer to race. Therefore, another indicator of uptightness is frequency of joking about race. The ridiculing nature of ethnic humor is often apparent in the manifest content of jokes themselves. Freud[9] for example, presents numerous examples of humor which ridicule Jews about cheapness, slyness, and sexual prowess. Therefore, an additional measure of uptightness is joking content which ridicules race and racial stereotypes. Joking also expresses hostility toward oneself as well as toward others. This is especially

evident in ethnic humor in which members of a group ridicule themselves. Reik[8] points this out in his discussion of Jewish humor in which he detects a hidden "fierce aggressiveness against the self, which in turn conceals an aggressiveness against the Gentile world, that world in which at bottom is held responsible for the typical deficiencies that Jewish wit seems to recognize and deplore" [p. 718]. In short, by "criticising themselves they are really criticising their enemies and oppressors"[8] [p. 718]. Pettigrew[16] documents similar "conscious and unconscious" feelings of self-hate among many American blacks who believe "the din of white racists egotistically insisting that Caucasians are innately superior to Negroes" [p. 9]. It follows that an additional indicator of uptightness is joking by blacks in which they ridicule themselves or other blacks.

The IPAT Humor Test is another measure of uptightness. Developed by Tollefson and Cattell[21] and still in preliminary form, this test which ostensibly measures "sense of humor" indicates a "variety of dynamic tendency." The anxiety sub-test of the IPAT Humor Test is based on Freud's[9] proposition that repressed anxiety and hostility are manifested in ego's preference for jokes which have these drives as their theme. Due to space limitations, two pairs of jokes

from this sub-test were not included in the questionnaire. The shortened instrument appears in Table 2.

Table 2 about here

Table 3 presents the frequency distribution of

Table 3 about here

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anxiety scores. The distribution is skewed; less than one-third of the professors score moderate or high anxiety (2 or less). A high score (low anxiety) correlates with the positive pole score in the IPAT Humor Test and a low score (high anxiety) with the negative pole. These pole scores are described in the IPAT Humor Test Handbook:[21]

> The jokes of the positive pole of this factor suggest a passive resignation to life and its problems, many of the jokes dealing with relations between the sexes, although this does not seem to capture the dynamic component. The negative pole is less homogeneous, but seems to include items which are hostile against authority and standards. Relationships with personality factors

include Factor C (Ego Strength) and Factor O- (Confident, Secure), both of which, related to the positive pole of Factor 6, suggest a confident, stable, realistic personality. There is also recent evidence to imply a relation with the second-order personality factor Anxiety vs. Good Adjustment, with the positive pole of the Humor Factor 6 aligning with the adjustment pole. One puzzling relationship is that of the Sex Erg, which is related to the positive pole of Humor Factor 6!*

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*Factors O and C are empirically defined in Cattell's Sixteen Personality Factor Inventory. Scores on the Inventory correlate with the IPAT Sub-Tests, and with other personality assessments, such as psychiatric evaluations and outpatient status in mental health clinics; Cattell, however, does not report the magnitude of the association. To further clarify the dimensions measured by the IPAT Anxiety Sub-Test, the C- and O+ Factor Inventory poles are described in The 16 Personality Factor Inventory Manual:[6]

(footnote continued on next page)

(footnote continued from preceding page)

Factor C:

> This factor is one of dynamic integration and maturity as opposed to general emotionality. This pattern has been shown to exist among normals as well as in groups of neurotics. . . . In its positive sense it seems to be what the psychoanalysts are attempting to describe by the notion of ego strength . . . [in its negative sense, it describes a person who] is easily annoyed by things and people, is dissatisfied with the world situation, his family, the restrictions of life, and with his own health. He shows generalized neurotic responses in the form of phobias, psychosomatic disturbances, sleep disturbances, hysterical and obsessional behavior. [p. 12]

(footnote continued on next page)

(footnote continued from preceding page)

Factor O:

> [the O positive person] feels over fatigued by exciting situations, is unable to sleep through worrying, feels inadequate to meet the rough demands of life, is easily down-hearted and remorseful, feels that people are not as moral as they should be, is inclined to piety, prefers books and quiet interests to people and noise, and shows a mixture of hypochondriacal and neurasthenic symptoms, but with phobias and anxieties most prominent. Clinically O is very important, first as one of the largest factors in anxiety, appearing centrally in the depressive-anxiety syndrome, and secondly, as tending to be generally high in neurotics and many psychotics. [pp. 17-18]

Two conventional indicators of uptightness were included in the "job satisfaction" instrument to check the validity of the IPAT Anxiety Sub-Test. The first is from the Gross et al.[10] "worry instrument" administered to school superintendents: "I take my job home with me in the sense that I worry about it when I am doing other things." The second item was used by Afsaruddin[1] to measure externalization of aggression: "How many times in the past month or so have you blown your top at work?"

Finally the major hypothesis is specified by identification with and rejection by the "majority" group, which for faculty members is assumed to be intellectuals in general--RejI. The following item measures felt importance of intellectuals: "In general, how influential have intellectuals been in how you conceive your rights and obligations as an academician?" Perceived rejection is measured by: "How satisfied are you with the amount of recognition that intellectuals in general have given for your work and efforts in the academic profession?" Those who score very or rather influential on the former item and not at all satisfied on the second item identify with and feel rejected by intellectuals (RejI).

3.1 Zero-Order Associations, Partial Correlations, and Joking Content

The findings in Table 4, where responses to the uptight items are cross-tabulated by race, support Hypotheses 1 and 2. Black faculty are more likely than whites to joke (especially about racial matters), to score high on the IPAT Anxiety Sub-Test, to worry about their jobs, and to blow their tops at work. The bi-variate relationships (r_{pbis}) are maintained when nine initial differences between the samples ($r_{1,2...9}$) are controlled simultaneously, indicating that the associations are not spurious. In addition, r_{pbis} for faculty who identify with and feel rejected by intellectuals in general (RejI) is greater than for other faculty. The largest racial differences appear

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Table 4 about here

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for measures of racial joking, IPAT anxiety, and worry. The relatively high loadings on the single principal components factor extracted indicate that the five items, indeed, measure a single attribute--uptightness.

The hostile intent of racial joking is becoming more apparent and professors are finding it increasingly

difficult to retreat behind the phrase, "It was only a joke." For instance, during a period of racial disorders at his school, one high ranking black professor at San Francisco State College asked: "On this campus, who has time, or mood to horse around?" Another black faculty member agrees that especially in these times, racial joking is likely to be taken in the wrong way:

> Tenure year has arrived for three people in my department including myself. There seems no doubt about two of us being granted tenure. The other has been denied the recommendation of the department--apparently necessary if tenure is to be granted. A couple of [department] members--jokingly--so they thought--suggested that I encountered no difficulty with tenure because I am black. I did not appreciate hearing such comments.

Statements by white professors also reflect an increasing sensitivity to racial joking. Whites who "used to laugh at racial jokes . . . usually freeze now" and some report that "there are fewer race jokes floating around anymore." One white faculty member "find[s] that racial jokes are too hostile or painful to usually laugh," since "racial

matters are a serious problem at our school with 14 percent of the students being black." Another white professor relates the decline in racial joking to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

> There are the usual wise cracks about race relations but I feel that a lot of them are in the nature of so-called sick jokes. But I don't recall hearing any at all in the past few months. And, since I've given it some thought, I don't really recall any major so-called racial jokes since Martin Luther King's death. We do though joke about our Negro colleague's skirts being so short that they catch on her hose.

The motivation behind racial joking is questioned by a white respondent:

> We liberals still feel that we can use the term 'nigger' and laugh at ethnic jokes because we all know we really don't mean it and are not prejudiced. I wonder?

Several blacks only joke with whites who are believed not to be racist. For example:

I only joke with colleagues that I feel are not racist. An example: We are discussing textbooks, which drifted into comments about the books' black covers. I teased: 'Oh, you don't like <u>black</u> covers, eh?'

A few colleagues feel that they should tell me their favorite Bill Cosby joke. If I like the person I let it go. Otherwise, I am somewhat curt. Some still come up with the 'Joe Lewis sure was a good boxer' routine.

Blacks display a willingness to disparage themselves or their group in their joking behavior. One professor of education reports that "I say that after spending so much time and effort to earn an academic degree, I find myself a <u>specialist</u> in education for the disadvantaged by simply being born black." Another black explains "that my hair is wash and wear." Some of the more revealing comments follow:

If another person has committed an error in his personal contacts with me, mistaken identity, I will sometimes kid and ask if all blacks look alike to him. This is done only with a person who is secure enough to answer yes.

I'm considered the village idiot. This farce is to keep my 'friends' from 'picking my brains' and using my ideas as their own.

I'm rather mischievous by nature and a great lover of practical jokes. I tease my friends and they tease me in a healthy fun loving manner. If my color is sometimes a source of amusement, so it is reversed with my colleagues lack of color or kinky hair. I think everyone's got something a little ridiculous and you have to be able to get a chuckle out of yourself and your own peculiarities.

Blacks report hostile joking with their white colleagues. One says, for instance, that "I use the designation 'honky' in jest sometimes in referring to certain of my white colleagues." A few blacks offered theories to explain their joking behavior. Among these:

> This is not clowning. This is strategic joking. I think that humor should be a balm to hurt minds. I accuse men of questionable masculinity of being lotharious and they like it.

> Those of my colleagues who have known me for a few years know that I maintain that to make jokes about inequalities and injustices--academic or racial--serves as a wedge to finally crack and destroy the unjust structure. Therefore, we joke about many things, and racial and ethnic areas are fair game for sport.

Below are some of the more caustic examples of hostile joking interchanges which blacks report have taken place

between themselves and white faculty members:

> Some white male instructors kid me about protecting them in the black revolution--meaning that this has been the role of the black female in the past--protector, peace maker, etc., for the black male.

> A white colleague once said to me when she observed me picking up candy wrappers someone had dropped in her office, 'For heavens sake, stop acting like a janitor.' My response to her was, 'For heavens sake, stop acting like a white woman.' We both laughed heartily.

> Someone in a large faculty meeting used the expression: 'Call a spade a spade.' We joked about this.

I am occasionally teased about resembling Ron Karenga. I sometimes make jokes about racial matters. Upon completing a course

in Old English language and literature recently, I remarked to a colleague that it was good to 'get out from under those Anglo-Saxons after all these years.'

A white colleague in describing a near auto accident concluded by saying, 'It would turn you white.' I replied by saying, 'That would be the miracle of the times.'

The white respondents report hostile banter with their black colleagues. One white, for instance, informs us that he calls his "Negro friend a right wing Birchite." A few whites explained why they joke:

> Black panther jokes are most abundant in Oakland, California. Eldridge Cleaver jokes are pretty popular in the academic community. They are a means of preserving one's sanity.

> I laugh about racial problems to try to keep a perspective. For example, one of my friends has an interracial marriage and I have an interracial family. We laugh together frequently about the kooky things that happen to us. I suppose it's a kind of tension release.

The statements below, made by white faculty members, illustrate hostile joking with black colleagues:

> When a vacancy appeared here during the last year or so we tried to find a Negro academic to fill it with no success. It has become a standing joke to say something like: 'All the black philosophers are in California--all three of them.'

> In the context of discussing black power relevant to a newspaper story, someone might inquire whether or not we could get Stokely to teach a course on guerilla warfare.

I suggested to a black colleague who has gained weight recently that black may be beautiful, but fat is fat in any color.

3.2 Correlates of Uptightness for Black and White Faculty Members

In this section a multivariate procedure is used which classifies the black and white respondents by selected independent or control variables simultaneously, so that the effects* of each factor on uptightness can be observed while the effects of the others are held constant. The findings are presented in Tables 6, 7, and 8, which allow examination of the relations between the independent variables and uptightness for blacks and whites separately and the conditions for which the observed association between race and the dependent variable is stronger or weaker

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*The word effect is used to mean statistical association, not cause and effect which the term implies in everyday usage.

(specification). A single measure or index* of uptightness was computed in a principal components factor analysis of the five-item uptight instrument. The loadings of each item on the single extracted factor are presented in Table 4. The index of uptightness was computed as follows: the sum of the loadings of each item on the factor is weighted by the respondent's choice for each item, and this is summed over the five items. It is assumed that the resultant uptight scores are a continuous variable with a mean of 2.03, standard deviation of .904, skewness of .009, and kurtosis of -1.090. All respondents are ordered according to the decreasing magnitude of their factor scores.

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*One way to obtain a <u>single</u> measure or index of uptightness is to sum the weights of the responses of each faculty member to the five items in the uptight instrument. However, this method is undesirable because it equally weights all items. An advantage of factor analysis is that items loading highly on the factor are weighted highly.

r_{pbis} for race by Factor Score Uptightness is .391. Table 5 presents r_{pbis} for race by uptightness for each level of selected control variables. Blacks are higher on uptightness than whites for all levels of the control variables. This is especially true among faculty members in education, in the West, and for those who combine administrative and teaching duties. The relationship is weaker for faculty in the physical and biological sciences, administrators and full professors.

Table 5 about here

If we consider the upper 10 percent of the Factor Score Uptightness distribution to be "high," then 5 percent of the whites and 15 percent of the blacks are high on this index. In Tables 6, 7 and 8, the percentage of respondents who are high on Factor Score Uptightness are classified by several variables simultaneously. Table 6 groups blacks and whites by region of origin, racial mix of college attended, and sex. The relationship between the dependent variable and race is maintained for each level of the control variables and is especially strong for women who attended predominantly white colleges. For the whites, only

faculty members who grew up outside the South--especially women--are high on uptightness. Among the blacks, women are also more likely than men to score high on the factor index; however, this is true only for women who attended white colleges (regardless of where they grew up). By comparing percentage differences between columns and rows on the bottom right side of Table 6, it can be seen that sex is a better predictor of the dependent variable than is race of college attended. For the sex categories, the marginals range from 12 to 22 percent (a difference of 10 percent) while the difference attributable to race of college is only 1 percent (14 to 15 percent). This pattern is especially striking for blacks who grew up outside the South. The effects of race of college attended on uptightness depend upon the sex of the respondents, not on where they grew up. For men, those who attended black colleges are more likely than graduates of white colleges to be uptight. The reverse is true among women.

The right side of Table 7 categorizes blacks and whites by age and SES simultaneously. The left side presents only the marginals for each region, since the cell n's are too low for reliable percentaging. The relationship between race and the dependent variable is maintained

for all levels of the control variables. Whites who are lower SES and who are over 50 years of age are especially likely to score high on uptightness. Among the blacks, uptightness tends to increase with age and decrease with SES, with age having a greater effect on the dependent variable (5 to 20 percent) than SES (16 to 12 percent). Blacks who are lower SES, over 50 years of age, and from the South are particularly likely to report uptightness. In general, blacks from outside the South are slightly more likely than blacks from the South to be uptight.

Tables 6, 7, and 8 about here

In Table 8, the white and black respondents are classified by quality of employing school, highest degree and tenure. Again, the relationship between race and the dependent variable is maintained for each level of the control variables. Generally, whites with the doctorate are more likely than whites without the doctorate to report high uptightness, regardless of tenure and quality of employing school. In addition, untenured whites are more likely than whites without tenure to be uptight. Whites who most often score high on the dependent variable are

untenured, hold the doctorate and teach in lower quality schools.

A consistent pattern does not emerge for the blacks. Generally, tenured blacks are more likely to be uptight than untenured blacks, especially those teaching in the higher quality schools who have earned the doctorate. However, tenured blacks without the doctorate in lower quality schools are the most likely (18 percent) to be high on the factor index. Among untenured blacks, those teaching in lower quality schools are more likely than those in higher quality schools to be uptight; the reverse is true for tenured blacks, where those in high quality schools are the most likely to score high on the summary measure of uptightness.

4.1 Summary and Conclusion

It was hypothesized that as a result of prejudice and status dilemma, black faculty members are more likely to be uptight--in a state of extreme anxiety, hostile, and angry--than their white colleagues. In addition, it was assumed that this relationship is stronger for faculty who identify with and are rejected by their "important" reference group (intellectuals in general) than for others.

Both hypotheses were confirmed, and it appears that the relationships are not spurious.

Three measures of the dependent variable are non-reactive--highly unfakable and inoffensive. The selection of these indices were based on Freud's assumption that repressed drives such as anxiety and hostility find expression in hostile joking. One version of the IPAT Humor Test was used, and this measure had the highest correlation with race as well as the highest loading on the single factor extracted in a principal components factor analysis of all five uptight items. All five items loaded highly (loadings larger than .4) on the factor which indicates that the items measure a single attribute--uptightness--and increases our confidence in the validity of the IPAT Humor Test.

Blacks are three times as likely as whites to score high on the Factor Index of Uptightness, 15 percent compared to 5 percent. The likelihood of white faculty scoring high on uptightness was predicted from several variables considered three at a time. Uptightness was shown to be especially likely when a white is:

--female and grew up outside the South

--over 50, low SES and grew up outside the South

--untenured, in a low quality school, and holds the doctorate.

For the whites, the best single predictor of uptightness is age (over 50).

Uptightness was shown to be especially likely when a black is:

--female and attended a white college

--low SES and over 50

--tenured, in a low quality school, and does not hold the doctorate.

For the blacks the best single predictors of the dependent variable are sex (female) and age (over 40).

We conclude with a caveat. Although we found relationships between race and the five measures of uptightness, the absolute differences on each measure are not great. For example, we found that black professors are more likely to worry about their jobs than whites; however, the means of 1.16 for the blacks and 1.03 for the whites are not widely divergent. In addition, by stressing uptightness, we have not focused attention on the fact that a large

proportion of the white and black professors are <u>not</u> uptight. Although we found, for instance, a relationship between race and worry, 25 percent of the whites and 22 percent of the blacks disagree strongly with the item affirming worry, and approximately one-quarter of each group disagrees slightly with the item.

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Table 1*[a]

Percentage Distributions of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Professors by 13 Control Variables

Control Variable	Response Category	White	Black
Age	under 30	8	15
	30-40	36	39
	40-50	27	33
	50-60	21	12
	Over 60	8	1
Sex	male	81	72
	female	19	28
SES[b]	low	23	40
	moderate	33	37
	high	44	23
Region of origin	South	10	43
	Non-South	90	57
Racial mix of college attended	predominantly white	99	58
	predominently black	1	42
Tenure	tenured	59	30
	untenured	37	53
	not applicable for my position	4	17
Highest earned degree	doctorate	70	48
	other	30	52

*Table continued on following pages.

Table 1--Continued*

Control Variable	Response Category	White	Black
Field	social sciences	28	27
	physical and biological sciences	12	12
	humanities and languages	21	12
	education	29	27
	other fields	10	22
Rank	less than assistant professor	8	27
	assistant professor	30	33
	associate professor	25	15
	professor	23	9
	administrator	3	6
	any professorial rank with administrative duties (e.g., department chairman)	11	10
Control of employing school	public	56	56
	private	44	44
Quality of employing school[c]	high	8	15
	non-high	92	85
Size of employing school	less than 1,000 students	10	8
	1,000-2,500	22	13
	2,500-9,000	19	27
	more than 9,000 students	49	52

*Table continued on following pages.

Table 1--Continued*

Control Variable	Response Category	White	Black
Location of employing school	eastern states[d]	49	52
	north central states[e]	38	32
	western states[f]	13	16

[a]Tests of significance are inappropriate and misleading when non-random samples are compared. The black respondents represent almost an entire population. The whites, partially matched, are also not a random sample. If the whites constituted an entire population, any racial differences, no matter how small, would be statistically significant. If the whites were randomly sampled, tests of significance would be conservative, since there would be sampling errors for the whites but not for the blacks.

[b]The background SES index is based on occupational prestige and life style of the parents of the black and white respondents. Data on the mother are included because of her importance in the black family. A principal components solution was computed in a factor analysis of 3 items: (1) family finances while growing up (code: 1--not always able to make ends meet; 2--able to have necessities only; 3--able to live comfortably; 4--well to do); (2) father's and (3) mother's occupation while respondent was growing up (code: 1--unskilled; 2--skilled; 2.5--housewife; 3--white collar; 4--professional). A single factor was extracted. Father's occupation loads highest on the factor, .812. Family finances loads .740, and mother's occupation loads lowest, .651. The sum of the loadings of each item on the

*Table continued on following page.

Table 1--Continued

Footnotes:
factor is then weighted by the individual's response to each item, and this is summed over the three items. It is assumed that the resultant SES factor scores are a continuous variable with a mean of 2.00, standard deviation of .806, skewness of -.005, and kurtosis of -1.457. All respondents (blacks and whites) are ordered according to the decreasing magnitude of their factor scores; those in the top third of the distribution are high SES, and those in the middle and lower thirds are moderate and low SES, respectively.

[c]High quality schools are those classified by Berelson[4] as the "top 12 universities" and the "best 48 colleges" with the addition of Stanford and Brown Universities.

[d]Includes north eastern and middle Atlantic states.

[e]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[f]Includes mountain and Pacific states.

Table 2*

The Items Used to Measure IPAT Anxiety Level

With Their Response Choices and Weights

The Question	The Response Choices and Weights
In order to "control" for differences in sense of humor, we have devised the following question consisting of 6 pairs of jokes. Please circle the letter of one joke in each pair, either (a) or (b), which you think is the funnier of the two; that is, which you feel is the more amusing, NOT which you feel is more clever, tasteful, intellectual or sexy.	The following jokes are scored 1: 1B, 2A, 3B, 4B, 5A, 6A The other jokes are scored 0. Total score for each respondent equals the sum of his scores over all six pairs of jokes.

Items[a]
1a "I say, boy, stop that ox." / "I haven't got an ox stopper, Sir." / "Speak to him, then!" / "Good morning, Mrs. Ox."
1b "So you and Susan are going to get married! And all the time I thought it was a playful little flirtation." / "So did I."
2a "I call my girl friend 'furnace.'" / "Why, because she's warmhearted?" / "No, because she goes out on me if I don't watch her."
2b Customer: "Waiter, your thumb is in my soup!" / Waiter: "That's all right Sir. It is so used to the heat that I hardly notice it."

*Table continued on following pages.

*
Table 2--Continued

Items
3a When the minister called at the Jones' on the Sabbath, little Willie answered the bell. "Pa ain't home" he announced. "He went over to the golf club." The minister's brow darkened. Little Willie hastened to explain: "Oh, he ain't gonna play golf. Not on Sunday. He just went over for a few highballs and a little stud poker."
3b Susan: "I caught my boyfriend flirting." / Sarah: "I caught mine that way too."
4a "But the officer says that while you were in a state of intoxication, you tried to climb a lamp post." / "Yes, I did, your Honor,but three crocodiles had been following me all night and they were getting on my nerves."
4b Jack: "How many kinds of milk are there, Sam?" / Sam: "Well, there's buttermilk, sweet milk, sour milk, chocolate milk--what do you want to know for?" / Jack: "Well, I'm drawing a cow and I want to know how many faucets to put on him."
5a The sorority girl's new engagement ring had gone completely unnoticed. Finally in exasperation, she remarked: "Gee, it's hot in here! I think I'll take my ring off."
5b "Have you been ill?" / "Yes ma'am," replied the beggar, I've been deaf and dumb for six years." / "Oh, you poor man," she said, giving him all the money in her purse.

*Table continued on following page.

Table 2--Continued

Items
6a Mother to son in the Air Force: "Now, son, do be careful, and whatever you do, fly slowly and stay near the ground."
6b "You should ask for manners instead of money," said the rich matron, tartly. / "Well," said the beggar, "I asked for what I thought you had the most of."

[a]The split-half reliability coefficient (Pearson r) calculated on the IPAT Anxiety sub-test for 495 black and 433 white faculty members is .74. Internal consistency (r for each item by total score) ranges from a low of .58 for item four to .79 for item 6.

Table 3

Percentage Distribution, Mean and Standard Deviation of the Sum of the Scores of 442[a] White and 554[b] Black Faculty Members on the 6 Items in the IPAT Humor Anxiety Sub-test

	Percent of Faculty Members Scoring						
Anxiety Score	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Anxiety Level	High			Moderate			Low
	.9	2.0	31.4	32.8	9.7	14.0	9.3

Mean = 3.27

SD = 1.38

[a]N for Whites = 433 (9 missing cases due to blanks).

[b]N for Negroes = 495 (59 missing cases due to blanks).

Table 4*

Percentage Distribution, Mean, Standard Deviation, Measures of Association, and Principal Components Factor Loadings of the Responses of 442 White and 554 Black Faculty Members to the Uptight Instrument

Items	Race	% Responding for Each Choice and Weight: 1=A great deal, 2=Sometimes, 3=Rarely, 4=Never				N	SD	$\bar{X}$	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$	r for RejI[a]	r for Others	Factor Loading
		1	2	3	4								
How often do you joke, kid or horse around with your colleagues at work?	White	19	55	22	4	442	.75	2.11	-.090[c]	-.109	-.227[c]	-.085	.691[d]
	Black	24	56	18	2	538[b]	.71	1.98					
How often does this activity deal with racial matters?	White	2	13	47	38	441[b]	.73	3.22	-.408[c]	-.311[c]	-.601[c]	-.125	.840[d]
	Black	9	42	37	12	535[b]	.82	2.52					

*Table continued on following pages.

Table 4*--Continued

Items	Race	% Responding for Each Choice and Weight				N	SD	$\bar{X}$	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$	r for RejI[a]	r for Others	Factor Loading
		1 = Low (4-6)											
		2 = High (0-3)											
		1	2										
IPAT Humor Anxiety	White	41	59			433[b]	.49	1.25					
Subtest	Black	25	75			495[b]	.43	1.41	.187[c]	.138[c]	.309[c]	.108	.789
		1=None											
		2=Once or twice											
		3=3-5											
		4=More than 5											
		1	2	3	4								
How many times in	White	53	43	4	0	440[b]	.58	1.51					
the past month	Black	53	37	7	3	548[b]	.76	1.61	.070[c]	.131[c]	.040	-.001	.402
have you "blown your top" at work?													

*Table continued on following page.

Table 4--Continued

Items	Race	% Responding for Each Choice and Weight 1=Agree strongly 2=Agree slightly 3=Disagree slightly 4=Disagree strongly 1	2	3	4	N	SD	$\bar{X}$	r_{pbis}	$r_{1,2...9}$	r for RejI[a]	r for Others	Factor Loading
I take my job home with me in the sense that I worry about it when I am doing other things.[e]	White	17	27	31	25	442	1.03	2.64	-.214[c]	-.190[c]	-.421[c]	-.282[c]	.620[d]
	Black	34	21	23	22	554	1.16	2.32					

[a]RejI = identifies with and is rejected by intellectuals. See text for details on computation.

[b]Missing cases due to blanks.

[c]Significant at .01 or below.

[d]For computation of loadings, items recoded so that the higher response weights coincided with "greater" uptightness.

[e]The percentages and statistics for this item are different from the data which appeared in the author's dissertation, due to an error in coding.

Table 5*

r_{pbis} of the Responses of 996 Faculty Members for Race by Factor Score Uptightness for Each Level of Selected Control Variables

Control Variables	Factor Score Uptightness by Race = .391
Location	
Eastern states[a]	.407
North central states[b]	.310
Western states[c]	.438
Number of Students on Campus	
Less than 1,000	.411
1,000-2,500	.387
2,500-9,000	.312
more than 9,000	.421
Field	
Social sciences	.414
Physical and biological sciences	.281
Humanities and languages	.399
Administration	.241
Education	.450
Other fields	.340

*Table continued on following page.

Table 5--Continued

Control Variables	Factor Score Uptightness by Race = .391
Academic Rank	
Less than assistant professor	.408
Assistant professor	.387
Associate professor	.470
Professor	.275
Administrator	.322
Any professorial rank with administrative duties (e.g., department chairman)	.490

[a]Includes north eastern and middle atlantic states.

[b]Includes east north central and west north central states.

[c]Includes mountain and pacific states.

Table 6

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Faculty Members Who Are High on Factor Score Uptightness by Racial Mix of College Attended, Sex, and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

	Grew Up in South			Grew Up Outside South			All Regions		
	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total	White College	Black College	Total
	WHITES								
Male	0(32)[a]	--	0(32)	1(301)	-(3)	1(304)	1(333)	-(3)	1(336)
Female	0(11)	--	0(11)	7(65)	--	7(65)	7(76)	--	7(76)
Total	0(43)	--	0(43)	5(369)	-(3)	5(369)	5(409)	-(3)	5(412)[b]
	BLACKS								
Male	5(43)	13(113)	11(156)	11(177)	24(42)	13(219)	10(220)	16(155)	12(375)
Female	30(12)	14(43)	18(55)	28(56)	12(15)	25(71)	29(68)	14(58)	22(126)
Total	11(55)	13(156)	13(211)	15(233)	21(57)	16(290)	14(288)	15(213)	15(501)[c]

[a] Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too small for reliable percentaging).

[b] 30 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c] 53 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 7*

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Faculty Members Who Are High on Factor Score Uptightness by Age, SES and Region in Which the Respondent Spent the First 18 Years of His Life

		Grew up in South	Grew up Outside South	All Regions			
				Low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
			WHITES				
Age	under 30	-(4)[a]	4(30)	-(3)	4(10)	4(21)	4(34)
	30-40	4(20)	4(123)	4(33)	4(48)	4(62)	4(143)
	40-50	4(9)	4(104)	4(35)	4(35)	4(43)	4(113)
	over 50	4(9)	8(112)	12(25)	4(47)	8(49)	7(121)
SES	low	-(6)	6(90)				
	med	4(16)	4(124)				
	high	4(20)	5(155)				
Total	South	4(42)	Non-South 5(369)	Total 6(96)	4(140)	5(175)	5(411)[b]

*Table continued on following page.

Table 7--Continued

		Grew up in South	Grew up Outside South	All Regions Low SES	Med SES	High SES	Total
			BLACKS				
Age	under 30	5(40)	5(35)	5(39)	5(14)	5(22)	5(75)
	30-40	10(77)	17(122)	15(93)	15(79)	9(27)	14(199)
	40-50	18(72)	17(100)	18(60)	18(67)	14(45)	17(172)
	over 50	17(25)	22(36)	33(18)	9(25)	22(18)	20(61)
				Total 16(210)	15(185)	12(112)	15(507)[c]
SES	low	13(83)	17(127)				
	med	15(83)	15(102)				
	high	7(48)	16(64)				
Total		South 13(214)	Non-South 16(293)				

[a]Base N for percents.

[b]31 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]47 missing cases due to blanks.

Table 8

Percentage of 442 White and 554 Black Faculty Members Who Are High on Factor Score Uptightness by Quality of Employing School, Highest Earned Degree, and Tenure

	Tenured			Untenured			All Professors		
	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total	Doctorate	Other	Total
				WHITES					
High	4(15)[a]	-(6)	4(21)	-(9)	--	-(9)	4(24)	-(6)	4(30)
Non-high	5(151)	4(27)	5(178)	7(73)	4(15)	6(88)	4(224)	4(42)	6(266)
Total	5(166)	4(33)	5(199)	6(82)	4(15)	6(97)	6(248)	4(48)	5(296)[b]
				BLACKS					
High	15(39)	--	15(39)	5(22)	-(3)	5(25)	12(61)	-(3)	11(64)
Non-high	11(52)	18(24)	13(76)	10(76)	13(24)	18(100)	16(128)	15(48)	16(176)
Total	13(91)	18(24)	14(115)	16(98)	12(27)	16(125)	15(189)	15(51)	15(240)[c]

[a]Base N for percents (N less than 10 is too low for reliable percentaging).

[b]166 missing cases due to blanks (a case is omitted from the computations when the value of any variable in the table is missing).

[c]314 missing cases due to blanks.